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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN COMMUNITY IN PRAIRIE CANADA:

EDMONTON, 1898-1921

by



CARL FREDERICK BETKE

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
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FALL, 1981

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "The Development of Urban Community in Prairie Canada: Edmonton, 1898-1921" submitted by Carl Frederick Betke in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

Date . *May 21, 1981*

For Doreen

ABSTRACT

This is a study of the development of urban community in the Canadian prairie west in the early twentieth century. It tests the thesis that a multitude of group associations in the new city of Edmonton had significance for urban cohesion, even if that was not always perceived as a primary objective. It suggests the degree to which life in Edmonton offered and was ordered by an urban collective experience beyond individual, family or small group pursuits.

Intensive research provided information about Edmonton organizations in 1898, 1906, 1913 and 1921. Over the quarter century the nature of many associations and even of the urban context changed, but the primacy of the city for individual relationships continued. The population became larger and more diversified in background during an immigration and railway construction boom. The municipal councils before World War I made long-term commitments on behalf of the entire population for urban services against which no fundamental dissenting argument was raised, although election campaigns and aldermanic debates became heated on occasion over the precise forms of implementation. Rival centres on the two sides of the North Saskatchewan River, South Edmonton (later Strathcona) and Edmonton, merged. Organizations appeared to represent significant sectors of the population in

composite decision making: the Board of Trade, the Trades and Labor Council, the Federation of Community Leagues. Private welfare organizations accepted collective responsibilities so substantial that the public was gradually reconciled to paying for increasing proportions of them out of taxes. Churches continually found reason to espouse community causes or raise questions of public morality for comprehensive debate. Church-related institutions like Alberta College and the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations devised broad programs catering to urban needs. Hundreds of elite, professional, business, fraternal, service, recreational and church-based societies coordinated their own specific priorities with encompassing civic aims. Theatrical and sporting entertainment came to be organized for mass audiences on a regular basis. At that particular time North American communications and corporate organization cast such widespread nets that, despite the newness of the city, much of what developed in the Edmonton economy, civic administration, voluntary associations and recreation followed standard international patterns.

The social fabric of the city woven from many associational threads was somewhat different in each of the years for which the composite picture is presented. The aggregate effect was in one sense unique. In another sense, however, variety was limited by the commitments to collective strategies. What were first conceived of as new opportunities arising from consolidation in many fields could be trans-

formed into binding strictures. The city became something like an organism in which easily replaced individual citizens had differing cellular roles, but by which the individual's quality of life was largely determined.

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INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1: The Urban and Rural Distinction.

The organizing concepts of this study may be explained in a Canadian context by reference to the preoccupation of some leading Canadian historians with the importance of "metropolitanism" in Canadian development. When the idea was so impressively displayed by J. M. S. Careless in 1954, it had already been expressed in varying degree in the work of H. A. Innis, Donald Creighton, A. R. M. Lower and Donald Masters.¹ But Careless isolated and made explicit a theory which had previously been submerged beneath the weight of such traditional themes as the development of nationhood and the impact of the frontier. He identified as the main feature of the metropolitan thesis the emergence of outstanding cities, each of which went on to organize a dependent area's resource development, transportation, communications, trade, finance, politics, education, society and artistic culture to such an extent as to prove its dominance.

It was quite possible to see smaller metropolitan systems within larger ones: all Canadian history might be characterized in such terms at each community level. There were unique reasons, Careless argued, for applying the concept specifically to Canadian history: its population has for example been concentrated in certain limited areas, making centralization of metropolitan power more visible in Canada than in the United States. The long political connection with the "British" centre of power seems made to order for metropolitan

conjecture and the central Canadian government has traditionally exerted considerable direct effort to overcome major obstacles in the way of Canadian frontier economic development.²

This is not to suggest Careless altogether denigrated the usefulness of the frontier thesis. In the first place, it was central to his 1954 article that the dominance of the metropolis in the new theory be contrasted with the primacy of the frontier in the old. His explanation of the importance of metropolitan configurations, moreover, owed much to a previous nationalist reaction to the particular environmentalism displayed by supporters of the frontier thesis. These had assumed a continental "new world" development of successive frontiers; little distinction was perceived at national boundaries. But Donald Creighton, building to some extent on the work of H. A. Innis, emphasized a distinctively Canadian environment of river systems which could stimulate a separate, natural Canadian communication and transportation pattern. The environmental aspect of frontierism was thus modified to provide "natural" support for Creighton's emphasis on an ultimately metropolitan Canadian system finding its dominant centre in London and its native focal point in Montreal.³

Not only did concentration on the frontier theory promote Canadian discovery of metropolitan patterns, but it also derived new importance from the application of metropolitanism. The frontier did not disappear in Careless' formulation, it was rather moved from predominant to dependent status in the new picture of Canadian development, from the role of instigator of progress to that of reactor to progress.⁴ Frontier

protest movements could therefore no longer be understood as expressions of fresh new world ideals, but only of resentment and resistance to manifestations of the power of metropolitan centres. A dichotomy was implied by Careless' original classification of the metropolitan thesis: the metropolis dominated a region; the hinterland (the "frontier" of old mythology, reduced to the "colony" in the new) resisted domination, ineffectually unless a new metropolis was being created. This duality has characterized scholarly understanding of Canadian metropolitan development ever since 1954.

Another scholar had similar perceptions; A. R. M. Lower had already pointed out "Two Ways of Life: The Primary Antithesis of Canadian History."⁵ More recently, he returned reflectively to the topic in broad context.⁶ In one article he again emphasized "Two Ways of Life," declaring that "city and country, the urban and the rural, the complex and the simple, the civilized and the primitive, such terms sharpen the antithesis." In Lower's analysis a certain moral flavour was added: the city was a "demand centre" which got from the country "supply centre" what it needed by an infinite variety of devices including not only trade but also piracy, colonization and war.⁷ Even the apparently more legitimate method of trade involved exploitation by the "slavery of debt"; thus "from whatever angle it is examined, the simple people of the countryside seem invariably to have got the worst of it...."⁸ Cities, moreover, Lower described as "groups of men organized, not for living, as is the countryside, but for accomplishment" by means of "economic control".⁹ The values of the frontier

survived in the new metropolitan interpretation, but as characteristics of an oppressed rather than of an ascendant population.

This juxtaposition of two basic elements of modern life was only brought the more into relief by Lower's introduction of a third consideration, the position of middlemen, into the formula.¹⁰ For these turned out either to remain staunch agents of the urban metropolis forever, despite residence in the hinterland, or to become protagonists in the creation of new metropolises; in both cases they remained separated from the denizens of the countryside. The fundamental dichotomy remained.

Recently W. L. Morton, speculating about the search for a grand hypothesis which would "explain at once the centrality and the regionality of Canada's actual history," dismissed the metropolitan thesis, because it

seems necessarily to minimize the importance of the hinterland. Yet no metropolis lives of itself; it is to the extent that it is metropolitan rather than just urban, a function of its hinterland.¹¹

His criticism can be interpreted as a modification of Lower's line of thought: Lower obviously grieved for the impotence of the superior lifestyles and values of the hinterland; Morton apparently could not divest himself of the conviction (probably originally derived from the frontier thesis) that the hinterland must be crucially important to the metropolis. Interdependence should be introduced into the metropolitan formula to replace urban dominance. Careless soon seized the opportunity to agree that, to be sure, "the concepts of metropolitan centre and

hinterland region can only be made meaningful in terms of one's relation with the other." Professor Morton was therefore "perfectly correct in his conclusion that the regional and the central, the metropolis and the hinterland, must always be kept in balance."¹²

Morton, nevertheless, dismissed the thesis; Careless, on the other hand, emphasized Morton's own points to salvage its usefulness, stressing "interaction between metropolis and hinterland, out of which all sorts of results may come." It was also necessary for Careless, turning his attention to Lower's work, to disagree with that historian's tendency to preoccupation with the exploitation of staple products as the basis of metropolitan dominance.¹³ Lower's narrowly conceived formula, Morton's criticism and Careless' modifying defense of metropolitanism all assumed, however, that it is indeed possible to discern two essential separate forces. Careless has thus been able to describe tentatively a particular outburst of French Canadian nationalism as "a reaction of forces within a hinterland region against existing metropolitan dominance."¹⁴ All Canadian history might be explained repeatedly in terms of a simple dichotomy.

In three other recent offerings Careless has however transcended a merely two-dimensional characterization of Canadian development while recommending attention to divisions, multiple group identities and pluralism in Canada.¹⁵ It is true that even here there appeared frequent references to urban elites, regional power structures, decision-making centres, dominant urban centres and chief metropolitan cities, all

phenomena which fit clearly into his metropolitan thesis. But his apparent consciousness of diversity is most stimulating. Not only nationalism but also matters of class, generation, ethnicity and urbanization were said to be important areas for study.¹⁶ Chief urban centres might after all contain critical differentiating characteristics.¹⁷ Canadian cities might in fact deserve detailed study: since at least the 1880s the rate of urban population growth has been steadily impressive; moreover, Canada has been very much a land of "cities in the wilderness."¹⁸

A bewildering number of themes seemed to Careless to exhibit distinctively urban qualities: not only metropolitan relations but also communications, technological changes, elites, artistic cultural sponsorship and educational development, to cite his examples. Beyond those which he discussed at some length, he recognized an almost endless list of pertinent topics

such as class, ethnic and religious relations; ... labour, immigration, unemployment and relief; ... social problems and policies; alcoholism and the temperance movement; industrial and financial development, wholesaling and retailing; not to mention the press, the professions, the crafts, and the amusements. There is besides the whole question of the city's role in national and regional politics and its own municipal political life. There is the history of its internal services, transport and utilities; its planning and speculation, its buildings, its general ambiance. And still the list could be extended to cover its people in individual and collective personalities, the 'urban biography' of their whole community.¹⁹

Here his interest in urban history clearly intersected with his discovery of diversity in the Canadian experience: to study urban history may mean, after all, to study diversity

and segmentation within a peculiar kind of community.

Recognition of pluralism in urban life at once undermines and illuminates the traditional metropolitan thesis. Were one to examine in detail the twin components of metropoliticism, the metropolitan centre and the hinterland, one would soon recognize that the relative homogeneity of the economy and society in the one contrasts markedly with the heterogeneity in the other. An agricultural hinterland, for example, would be populated by farmers and minor middlemen acting as agents of the metropolitan centre. The farmers are alike in that they perform a similar service, a similar function: they produce certain (perhaps staple) foodstuffs required or transmitted further by the metropolis. But of what and whom is the metropolitan centre composed? Of a population homogeneously engaged in a single service? Careless' own introduction to the city in Canadian history betrays its complexity, its collection of functions, its segmentation, its coordination of oft-conflicting interests. Who is more the urban dweller: the factory worker or the financial director? Does the factory worker have more in common with the financial director or with the farmer? Are the identifications of the three, one with any other, less tenuous and distant in any combination? Is the cooperation of any two of the three personal and intimate? How then, are the metropolitan and the hinterland populations comparable as entities?

The metropolitan thesis can easily allow our preoccupation to remain with the nature and relations of the hinterland. It may also cause us to take for granted the unity of the

metropolis; not to wonder at the process by which so many diverse people came to behave as a solid community, or at the forces which hold them together. Perhaps the "interaction" which Professor Careless has come to recognize between metropolis and hinterland is just as fascinating among a multitude of urban groups variously identified, not only between two massive antithetical urban and rural configurations. Both Careless and Gilbert Stelter have separated urban historical studies of "processes or events in an urban setting" or "intra-urban" history from studies of "external patterns of organization" or "exo-urban" history.²⁰ Perhaps such a separation is misleading: is the relevant interaction not rather among groups of considerably reduced identity, such that none of them is limited to merely urban or merely non-urban relationships. Perhaps the city cannot be isolated as a unified entity exerting collective influence on the non-city. Perhaps any city is definable only as an area of relatively dense population, thus notable only as a visible focus of cooperation.

Speculation inspired by some of Careless' latest theory links the hinterland and the metropolis in the process by which a frontier disappears. A wilderness might progress from a "superficial extractive frontier" through a "committed extractive stage" of relatively small towns, some of them commercial, beyond a third plateau at which local resources are locally processed, finally to a "regenerative" era during which the cities no longer depend entirely upon restrictedly local resources for continuing development, else they stagnate.²¹ The later stages focus increasing proportions of the incoming

population in close proximity. Economic growth and specialization in this moving picture create cities. The dichotomy between country and city is reduced; their connection is in historical process.

If in certain senses the distinctiveness of the urban and rural categories is not absolute, yet it is true that the spirit of separate community is strongly built in the process of city growth. The experience of the city environment, beginning with the simple facts of close proximity and the interdependence of urban specialists, creates the illusion of a separate organism, of distinction between the city and the outside. So solid an interconnectedness is this that the continuation of cities once well established is normally taken for granted. If there are inter-personal or inter-group animosities within urban confines, all seem to have been resolved in the long run of Canadian history in favour of a continuing cooperation. Urbanization has been a generally positive process, characterized by relatively regular urban population growth.²² Most Canadians have been content not to separate themselves from their fellows.

Even a superficial study would demonstrate how incorrect it is to suggest all Canadians learned urban cooperation in Canada; historically significant civilized behaviour was brought from elsewhere to Canada by immigrants. Nor is it true that all Canadian group associations are to be identified by occupational classifications; neither, therefore, are all inter-group conflicts necessarily stimulated by occupational discord. The internal contradictions to be resolved in a city

must be manifold, and the larger and more diversified the urban population, the greater the complexity of the interactions. This is true even if something as basic as the tension between the expansion of specialized services in a new city like Edmonton and the attendant mounting necessity for widespread cooperation may be said to underlie the development of urban community. The "urbanization" demonstrated by Edmonton's social development matched increasing economic and social complexity with a more sophisticated network of agencies promoting unity.

If a commitment to the ideal of community²³ is inseparable from the workings of a city, the commitment existed in early Edmonton in varying degrees of intensity for different residents. It would be easy enough to classify some as zealous organizers and others as those merely being organized. John Taylor has, for example, in his search for the essence of the frontier in urban situations, described "Canadian frontiers as the frontiers of the powerless" and (after S. D. Clark) relations between metropolis and frontier as simply "a socio-economic relationship or contest between the powerful and powerless." He then hypothesized that three frontier conditions have arisen in Canadian history: the classic land frontier exploited by a geographically external metropolis; an urban-industrial "frontier within" the city where wealth has been created by exploitation of powerless industrial workers (after Daniel Elazar); and a kind of welfare frontier in which chief advantages go to the institutionalized components of society at the expense of an unorganized sector.²⁴

Those who did not organize themselves adequately to

cope with the demands of the community gradually became the objects of the attention of organizers, activating the idea of public or social welfare. That very term suggests its roots in a dedication to the welfare not so much of individuals but rather of the organism of which they were a part: in this case, the city. Misfits often seemed not only peripheral but burdensome, sometimes even dangerous. To put it another way, without commitment (however unwitting) to community, there would be no concern for welfare on a group level; only one-to-one concerns among individuals. As Edmonton developed, we shall see, individual pursuits and the quality of individual lives came irreversibly to depend on the quality of the organism.²⁵ A tyranny of community was exerted in which it became unimaginable to live without it.

Social welfare is only one of a number of urban developments which illustrate the community theme. Obviously the first factor in community maintenance would be the degree of homogeneity in the previous experiences of the population, the extent to which the new urban citizens shared common traditions. Within the general population the relative homogeneity of an elite would be important to the establishment of common direction for the city. In each section to follow, identified by a particular year in the continuum 1898 to 1921, the first chapter examines the population. The second chapter in each section introduces the economic circumstances. The interdependence promoted by the economy could work only insofar as a suitable economic base was available, and as a suitable

system for exchange of services (including transportation) was operative. The third chapter considers a community factor following largely from the second: the artificial or formal cooperation which was necessary to overcome failures of inter-dependent economic self-interest to maintain all aspects of the system. A booming economy, for example, required public intervention to provide the desired levels of energy, communication and transportation utilities; and public intervention to regulate residential relationships. Collapse of the growth boom in 1913 emphasized public responsibility to ensure the welfare of the many new citizens whose livelihoods had depended on the rapid expansion. The choice of municipal leaders was therefore not an inconsequential urban pastime.

The common good was at the same time pursued at micro-levels within the greater city: by service clubs, professional associations, labour unions and neighbourhood organizations. The fourth chapter in each section will therefore analyze the contributions of voluntary organizations to civic unity. The connections might not always seem obvious at first glance. But the churches, to take one example, bound together people intent on finding absolute principles to guide their behaviour toward harmonious relations with one another. The church denominations brought tradition and stability to the urban community of Edmonton from the outset. More than that, they brought the North American tradition of substantial tolerance by one denomination for the other, an ability to coexist and even on many occasions to cooperate. The overall framework was Christian, to be sure, although some issues could be divisive.

On the other hand, Edmonton developed at the same time as certain ecumenical experiments which emphasized shared objectives. And similarly, the fifth chapter in each section looks into another category of activities with purposes not first and foremost couched in urban terms. But the modes of recreation which emerged served to organize people and bring groups together, by focussing large audiences on common entertainment, for instance, and by immersing large numbers of people in games played in teams and leagues.

The effect of this study of an urban people and their organizations is to show how those organizations collectively contributed to an urban community in a particular situation. Initially the plethora of organizations and population characteristics simply suggest variety, without cohesion. Further, a close consideration of the history of each group in isolation would emphasize the derivative quality of their Edmonton experience. Yet collectively, the complex set of various and derivative activities presents both a unified and a unique picture. The focus is admittedly on the urban social community alone, whereas there are other factors which contribute to a whole description of a particular city - the physical appearance, for one. Within its limits, however, the technique used without deviation in this approach, drawing together in one study a mass of historical population and organizational detail in order to demonstrate its inter-relatedness in Edmonton, can be expected to distinguish Edmonton's community development from that of other cities. More than that, it

tries to define the urban unit in the ways its residents sensed it, so that they distinguished not only the Edmonton experience from the Calgary one, but also city folk from country folk. It tries to explain the persistence of the metropolitan-hinterland dichotomy in Canadian perceptions by the cumulative strength of a city's community institutions.

Footnotes

1. J. M. S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism, and Canadian History," Canadian Historical Review (C.H.R.), vol. 35, no. 1 (March, 1954), 1-21, particularly 14-17.
2. Ibid., 17-21.
3. Ibid., 10-15.
4. Indeed, in a later article Careless discerned that "a frontier, after all, is a hinterland in an early stage of development....usually they have evolved as populated, variegated, and enduring hinterlands...." See "Metropolitan Reflections on 'Great Britain's Woodyard'," Acadiensis, vol. 3, no. 1 (Autumn, 1973), 108.
5. Canadian Historical Association (C.H.A.) Report (1943), 5-18. See also his "Geographical Determinants in Canadian History," in R. Flenley, ed., Essays in Canadian History Presented to G. M. Wrong (Toronto, 1939).
6. "The Metropolitan and the Provincial," Queen's Quarterly, vol. 76 (Winter, 1969), 577-590; "Townsmen and Countryman: Two Ways of Life," Dalhousie Review, vol. 50 (1970-71), 480-487; "Metropolis and Hinterland," South Atlantic Quarterly, vol. 70 (1971), 386-403.
7. Lower, "Townsmen," 480-482.
8. Ibid., 486-487.
9. Lower, "Metropolis," 388.
10. Ibid., 392-396, 402-403. While my theme is being developed from Canadian studies, the notion of urban definition by separation from the rural condition is by no means only a Canadian one; nor even one applied solely to the modern industrial city. See, for example, the urban - rural relationship outlined in

- M. I. Finley, "The Ancient City: from Fustel de Coulanges to Max Weber and Beyond," Comparative Studies in Society and History, vol. 19, no. 3 (July, 1977), 305-327.
11. W. L. Morton, "Some Thoughts on Understanding Canadian History," Acadiensis, vol. 2, no. 2 (Spring, 1973), 106.
 12. Careless, "Metropolitan Reflections," 106.
 13. Ibid., 108.
 14. "Metropolitanism and Nationalism," in P. H. Russell, ed., Nationalism in Canada (Toronto, McGraw-Hill, 1966), 277.
 15. "Somewhat Narrow Horizons," C.H.A. Historical Papers (1968), 1-10; "Nationalism, Pluralism and Canadian History," Culture, vol. 30 (March, 1969), 19-26; "'Limited Identities' in Canada," C.H.R., vol. 50 (1969), 1-10.
 16. Careless, "Nationalism," 21-22.
 17. Careless, "'Limited Identities'," 6-8.
 18. Careless, "Somewhat Narrow," 4-5; J. M. S. Careless, "Metropolis and Region: The Interplay Between City and Region in Canadian History Before 1914," Urban History Review, No. 3-78 (February, 1979), 101.
 19. Careless, "Somewhat Narrow," 10.
 20. J. M. S. Careless, "Urban Development in Canada," Urban History Review, no. 1-74 (June, 1974), 9-10; Gilbert A. Stelter, "The Historian's Approach to Canada's Urban Past," Histoire Sociale/Social History, vol. 7 (1974), 9-10, 18-20.
 21. Careless, "Urban Development," 10-13; Careless, "Metropolis and Region," 116-118.
 22. Leroy O. Stone, Urban Development in Canada (Ottawa, Queen's Printer 1967), 14-41.
 23. Among the numerous studies of the concept of urban community, the two following contain discussions related to my use of the term: Stuart M. Blumin, The Urban Threshold: Growth and Change in a Nineteenth-Century American Community (Chicago & London, University of London Press, 1976), and David W. Minar and Scott Greer, eds., The Concept of Community (Chicago, Aldine Publishing Company, 1969).
 24. John Taylor, "The Urban West, Public Welfare, and a Theory of Urban Development" in A. R. McCormack and Ian Macpherson, eds., Cities in the West (Ottawa, National Museum of Man Mercury Series, 1975), 288-290.
 25. An introduction to this idea is provided by Leo Schnore, "The City as a Social Organism," Urban Affairs Quarterly, vol. 1 (1966), 58-69.

Chapter 2: Edmonton Before 1898.

Prior to their merger in 1821, both major British North American fur-trading companies established the site of twentieth-century Edmonton by locating neighbouring forts in the same vicinity on the North Saskatchewan river.¹ The Northwest Company's Fort Augustus and the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Edmonton were never securely positioned geographically until the day of union, but thereafter Fort Edmonton became a chief Hudson's Bay Company post for the trade of furs and manufactured supplies, connected by winter route via the North Saskatchewan to Norway House, York Factory and London, England. While Hudson's Bay Company control of the Northwest Territories did not end until 1870, by the early 1860s there were already signs that the development of overland routes by way of American points would reduce Fort Edmonton's importance. Ox-cart and railway systems through St. Paul and Winnipeg created one new trading route; connections between southern Alberta and Fort Benton, Montana created another. As Edmonton was at the end of both trails, its importance declined with the crucial aspect of its water route through Hudson's Bay.²

Utter decline was not the result, for some adventurers on their return from the Cariboo gold rush in the early 1860s stopped to settle in the Edmonton region, while others vainly sought in such local areas of the North Saskatchewan river as "Clover Bar" the glitter of a new gold strike. Subsequent more northerly British Columbia gold hunts kept travellers circulating through Edmonton during the late 1860s and early 1870s, some of them gradually adding to the limited non-Indian

population.³

The end of Hudson's Bay Company rule and the transfer of the Northwest to Canada in 1870 marked the beginning of significant settlement outside the Fort. Even the main Hudson's Bay Company residence within the stockade was replaced by a new one just outside. The Company, though relinquishing total control over the territory, nevertheless reserved an enormous tract of land in the vicinity, amounting to 3,000 acres. Other land claims staked on the north side of the North Saskatchewan during the 1870s were therefore generally some distance from the Fort; the alternative was to locate on the south side of the river. Many of the new settlers, like Malcolm Groat and John Walter, were former Company employees, having virtually their choice of property. Well known businessmen of a later age at first owed their livelihood to farm land, only gradually becoming involved in other enterprises to service the community. In 1874, perhaps forty private owners occupied property in the area, exclusive of the nearby St. Albert mission and settlement. Refugees from the westerly gold fields supplemented ex-Company employees in the modest rush to exploit the newest popular resource: land. 1874 was the year in which fifty protectors of peaceful land settlement, the North-West Mounted Police, arrived at Fort Saskatchewan, somewhat separated but not inaccessible from Edmonton.⁴

Starting from the tiny Edmonton population of 1870, it would be easy to exaggerate the settlement's growth in the next decade. One could, for example, accurately point out that the 1881 Edmonton population of 263 represented an increase

of no less than 80 percent over that of 1878, in an absurd misuse of statistics. In fact, the most imposing accommodation continued to be that of the Hudson's Bay Company's Chief Factor, the "Big House" standing grandly on the high ground of the present Legislative Building, above the Fort on a lower level of the river bank. It is true, nevertheless, that the Fort was in the early 1880s accompanied by a number of business establishments - several general stores, butcher shop, harness shop, blacksmith shop, print shop, hardware store, barber shop, bank, two hotels and of course the churches - in several clusters separated by bush. From 1881, lots were being sold in the newly surveyed "townsite" around the Fort; on some of them residences appeared immediately, initiating an alternative settlement nucleus to the commercial centre farther east.⁵

The character of the populace changed as the predominance of Hudson's Bay Company men declined. The French speaking population, for instance, was fundamentally altered; French and Quebec immigrants first complementing, then to a considerable extent replacing, the original French Canadians and Metis. Some of the newcomers were eventually to achieve commercial, political and social prominence on the basis of modest original enterprises, like the general merchandising store of Stanislas LaRue and Joseph Henry Picard of Quebec. At the same time many of the Metis who had originally been attached to the Company as Fort buffalo hunters or freight transporters left the community to find new livelihoods elsewhere. Their Francophone replacements from Quebec were far better attuned to urban development; many, including Picard, began their

Edmonton careers by undertaking construction enterprises suited to expectations of population expansion. Some can be identified as hotel proprietors or distributing merchants; some, even during the 1880s, conducted two or more enterprises simultaneously.⁶

Newcomers also appeared from other parts of Canada to challenge the primacy of Hudson's Bay Company men and other oldtimers. Such well-travelled gold-hunting pioneers as Donald Ross, who finally settled down to establish Edmonton's first hotel in 1876, or James Gibbons, who waited until his mid-forties to settle on an Edmonton homestead, had once themselves been the new element to confront Hudson's Bay Company employees. Now, in the early 1880s, they were surrounded by energetic young Ontarians and maritimers taking advantage of the modest population expansion to provide new services for profit.

Ross' Edmonton Hotel soon had a competitor, Jasper House, whose proprietor, James Goodridge, had once been an Ontario cabinet maker. Frank Oliver became well-known for his Edmonton Bulletin, the second newspaper in the Northwest Territories. K. A. McLeod took advantage at the age of 24 of a minor real estate boom to invest his profits in a building and contract business. Richard Ottewell's Clover Bar homestead eventually became the scene of a variety of enterprises, including coal mining, saw milling and flour milling. Richard Secord's first opportunity was school teaching in 1883, but he soon left this for participation in fur trading and general merchandising with John A. McDougall, perhaps the most prominent Edmonton entrepreneur of his generation. Only 24 in 1878,

McDougall nevertheless had over ten years of storekeeping and associated experience in Ontario and the Northwest when he opened his first Edmonton store. Although McDougall's fur trading was successful enough to stir some irritation in the neighbouring Hudson's Bay Company post, the operations of his general store were gradually extended to specialize in outfitting and trading with pioneers at more northerly points, while the trading profits were judiciously invested in land in and around Edmonton, in long-term anticipation of eventual settlement.⁷

Other Canadians carved themselves niches in the new village commerce and industry in the early 1880s. Ross Brothers' hardware store originated in 1882 on the initiative of James Ross after four years of freighting, carpentering and tinsmithing in the locality. The lumber business and carpentry experiences of A. J. and D. R. Fraser enabled them to operate the premier local sawmill after 1881. Matthew McCauley spent ten years as labourer, teamster, drayman and farmer in other western places preparing for his 1881 start in Edmonton as liveryman and contractor. Most of these men were relatively young when they came, yet many had spent years wandering from place to place, a pattern which suggests that to balance those who stayed, many must have passed through in the quest for more lucrative prospects. Not all the Canadian newcomers looked for business opportunities, for some came to occupy professional or government positions - the Osbornes in the new post office, Thomas Anderson as the first Crown timber agent, H. L. McInnis as government surgeon, D. G. McQueen as Presby-

terian minister. If the Canadians swelled the population only a little, they did initiate some elaboration of the available services.⁸

The Hudson's Bay Company came to share the economic concerns of the newcomers. The remaining employees of the Company had after 1870 to adjust to administering not only an altered fur trade, with the influx of numerous competitors, but also the parcels of land left after transfer of the north-west to Canada was complete. The Company found that income from land sales was for the time being virtually non-existent outside urban centres. Development of the land resources would have to await substantial immigration.⁹ Artificial stimuli were of only limited use to increase land sales and agricultural production in the region. But some of the former Company employees hoped as much as the Company did to profit from land speculation. Leaders in the settlements of Edmonton, St. Albert and Fort Saskatchewan were persistent; they were prepared as early as 1879 to promote the Edmonton Agricultural Society to organize annual agricultural exhibitions. While enthusiasm soon waned so that by 1881 the Society had failed, it was revived in 1882, possibly in response to expectations of expansion generated by the revitalization of the Canadian Pacific Railway project in 1881.

Frank Oliver, pioneer newspaper publisher of the Edmonton Bulletin, was credited with the Agricultural Society's resurgence. His advocacy of vigorous support of agriculture through the Society was but one manifestation of his and his fellow Edmontonians' economic orientation. Oliver's newspaper

was designed to be read by farmers, just as the merchant-sponsored Agricultural Shows were intended to benefit farmers. In other words, non-farmers and part-time farmers promoted the region's agricultural development. The Bulletin offered practical advice on the treatment of domestic animal and crop diseases and on the desirability of local cooperative cheese factories and creameries. Letters to the editor were as often as not from farmers. Agitation by Manitoba farmers against alleged monopolist abuses by grain elevators was regularly reported. Edmonton businessmen obviously hoped to prosper on the basis of regional agricultural progress; by the time it came in the late 1890s, the urban pioneers were well prepared.¹⁰

For that, though, communications and transportation facilities had to improve. During the 1870s railway connection with eastern Canada was a matter for anticipation only, marked by levels of optimism which varied according to rumours of the probable route and completion date for the expected Canadian Pacific Railway. Telegraph communications reached within twenty miles south of Edmonton in 1877, but the alleged dominion government preference at that time for a northerly railway route through the vicinity did not materialize. In 1880 there was some reason to believe that agricultural development of the area was immediately at hand, for the transcontinental Canadian Pacific Railway was once more seriously under construction, and publicized plans were to route it north-westward from Winnipeg and ultimately through Yellowhead Pass. Telegraph service reached Edmonton that year, stimulating Frank Oliver to make good use of it to fill part of his fledgling newspaper.

Modern connections with the rest of Canada seemed at hand.¹¹

In anticipation the Dominion Lands Board in 1882 caused a settlement to be made of the informal partitioning conducted by the settlers themselves since 1872. This outline was used two years later by William Pearce, Inspector of Lands Agencies, to sort out conflicting land claims and rationalize boundaries officially on the lots of more than 240 landowners whose property formed the basis of Edmonton and South Edmonton townsites much later on.¹²

A minor fever of speculative preparation was abruptly curtailed in Edmonton when the news arrived in the summer of 1881 that a more southerly route, favouring the expansion of Calgary, would be followed. Edmonton entrepreneurs were not entirely put off the pursuit of land investments, but realization of major profits was delayed. In the meantime, mercantile transportation patterns from Winnipeg were significantly altered, shallow-draft steamboats on the Saskatchewan losing their predominance of the 1870s to a combination of railway and Red River carts, wagons and stagecoaches. River steamers continued, however, to serve intermediate Saskatchewan River settlements and, in combination with overland routes, anchored the metropolitan ambitions of Edmontonians to dominate the northern trading systems. Here was much of the communications basis of Edmonton's livelihood prior to the agricultural boom of the late 1890s.¹³

The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway to Calgary by 1883 encouraged a fundamental change in the trading outlets of Edmonton and its hinterland. Transportation along the

Calgary-Edmonton trail, once the link with Fort Benton, Montana, revived, but with a new ultimate destination. Stage, freight, mail and telegraph communication soon bound Edmontonians, like other western Canadians, to central Canada. Western localities whose ambitions had been frustrated by the choice of a southern transcontinental railway route quickly attempted to obtain spur line connection with the main track.¹⁴

For Edmonton, the link was ensured by federal incorporation of the Calgary and Edmonton Railway Company in the spring of 1890. The seven provisional directors included two members of an investment firm closely associated with western land companies (Edmund B. Osler and Herbert C. Hammond) and five railway contractors of varying distinction (James Ross, Nicol Kingsmill, Herbert S. Holt, William Mackenzie and Donald D. Mann). But for a variety of reasons, theirs was obviously only a second best solution to Edmonton's transportation needs. Calgary was still the galling reminder of what Edmonton had missed. Calgary would benefit economically from every subsidiary railway joining the main line there. Other beneficiaries incited Edmonton's envy. The principal investors in the railway would profit handsomely in the long run, supported by proceeds from a ten-square-mile-per-mile-of-railroad grant. On a line stretching from Fort Macleod in the south all the way north to South Edmonton, the total endowment would amount to a stunning 1,800,000 acres. Finally, the C.P.R. itself stood to gain from branch lines, and in this case it had the additional benefit of a lease to operate the new railway.¹⁵

Edmonton's gain was dwarfed by the profits of others.

The promise of the railway was nevertheless enough to justify Edmonton's incorporation as a town in early 1892. It also unfortunately provided the original issue activating a municipal and economic rivalry with that hamlet of hitherto dismissable proportions, South Edmonton. For, in negotiating the terminal site for the railway in the Edmonton district, the directors were able to reject relatively expensive propositions on the populous north side of the river in favour of an attractive settlement on the south side. A small coterie of south Edmonton entrepreneurs controlled a package of more than one thousand acres of land in a good, central location south of the river. The railway directors were convinced that it could serve as a neat new townsite anchored by the proposed station, particularly as they would be treated to a half interest in the townsite property in return for a July, 1892 deadline on completion of construction. Wary Edmonton businessmen, starved already for a decade past of favourable economic prospects, interpreted the essence of this agreement to mean undue influence might be added by the railway investors to South Edmonton intrigues to have federal administration buildings constructed in the vicinity of the new station.¹⁶

Emotions were thus prepared for the excitement of one of the sustaining legends of Edmonton community spirit: the attempted "theft" on June 18, 1892 of Edmonton's federal land office by South Edmonton. The federal land and timber agent in Edmonton, Thomas Anderson, was one of those alleged to have an interest (possibly through his son) in the south side townsite. When he, evidently with federal government sanction,

was spied on June 18, 1892 organizing a move of office books and supplies to the south side, it was easy for Edmonton citizens to suspect a conspiracy by the backers of the new town-site. In a frenzy of excitement leading citizens organized the dismantling of the offending wagon and the unhitching of the horses. Town officials despatched protesting telegrams to parliamentarians, territorial legislators and Sir Donald Smith of the Canadian Pacific Railway. An evening mass meeting at the site of the attempted crime served to maintain civic morale, while the building itself was protected by guards posted around the clock until the arrival of replies to the telegrams.

Two local policemen were helpless in the circumstances; even a force of twenty North West Mounted Policemen arriving from Fort Saskatchewan could see the wisdom in allowing the mob which had gathered simply to remain and await the calming news which must surely come from Ottawa. On June 20 it came: the permanent land office would remain in Edmonton; any projected move had ostensibly only been a temporary plan.¹⁷ A great plot had, in the minds of Edmonton townspeople, been frustrated in the nick of time by determined local vigilance. The incident passed into the ever escalating grandeur of Edmonton's municipal mythology, its significance not to be found in actual events but in the new animosity it displayed between the rival communities of Edmonton and South Edmonton, a sense of competition which could not formally be squelched until amalgamation in 1912.

Meanwhile the first requirement in Edmonton's drive to offset the advantage of South Edmonton's train station was to

obtain a bridge between the two centres.¹⁸ The highly visible inefficiency of countless ferry trips between the banks of the North Saskatchewan must have frustrated Edmontonians, for it was to be a decade after the driving of the last spike in the Calgary and Edmonton Railway in July, 1892 before its connection with Edmonton by way of the Low Level Bridge was effected in October, 1902. Separating the two dates were several approaches by Edmonton officials to the federal Department of Public Works in search of substantial assistance for a variety of civic-federal bridge-building schemes. One may surmise that a Conservative regime, insulted by Edmonton irascibility on the land office issue, would find it easy thereafter to reject repeated bids for help to close the gap between the two townsites.¹⁹ The situation was worsened in that era of frequent government railway construction subsidies for, in their absence, private enterprises, even the C.P.R., failed to see sufficient incentive to proceed alone, even (or especially) with so short a project.

Fortunately a Liberal regime succeeded the Conservatives at Ottawa in 1896; coincidentally Edmonton's prospects for a railway connection improved. The Edmonton District Railway Company, chartered but inactive since 1895, was revived by new owners (Liberal cabinet minister A. G. Blair, George McAvity and William Pugsley) in time to take advantage of Ottawa's agreement in 1897 to contribute a combined railway and traffic bridge with a minimal civic contribution. While that bridge was not completed before 1900 and picayune bickering prevented the new owners, Mackenzie and Mann, from com-

pleting the railway connection for two more years, 1897 can still be represented as a turning point for Edmonton's fortunes. First, the highly symbolic yet practically crucial railway deprivation looked certain to come to an end, a necessary first step in the conversion from dream to reality of local aspirations to rapid urbanization. Second, this would ultimately mean the undermining of destructive competition between rival self-sufficiencies on either side of the river. To be sure, citizens of the respective towns, later cities, maintained a spirited rivalry for fifteen years to come, but on an increasingly good natured level accompanied by the practical manifestations of unity.

During the time Edmonton took to stumble toward the economic and communications mainstream of Canadian development, one agency of social community, the church, made slow but steady progress in the Edmonton settlement. Methodist and Roman Catholic clergymen began very early by providing missionary and occasional educational services in the Fort. Methodists operated from Fort Edmonton as early as the 1840s, albeit with an interlude between 1848 and 1855.²⁰ Roman Catholic priests passed through the Fort in the late 1830s, presaging the first permanent missionary sent to the Edmonton area in 1842 by Bishop Provencher of St. Boniface, with the apparently reluctant acquiescence of the Hudson's Bay Company to the desires of some of its Catholic Metis employees. Until 1861, however, Edmonton remained in the Roman Catholic scheme of things a mission field of the permanent Lac Ste. Anne mission post. Headquarters moved closer with the construction of the

St. Albert mission on the Sturgeon river by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in 1857. After 1861 the legendary Father Albert Lacombe took time off from his travelling ministry to scattered Crees and Metis to serve Fort Edmonton as well.²¹

The Methodist presence became secure when the Reverend George McDougall founded the first mission congregation outside the Fort in 1871. Standard congregational developments followed: a church building in 1873 financed in part by the Methodist Missionary Society, by local people (especially Hudson's Bay Company factor Richard Hardisty) and the McDougalls themselves; a Sunday School, and a Ladies' Aid.²² Anglicans, including Hudson's Bay Company officials, received the services of Canon William Newton, whose "Hermitage" was located seven miles north-east of the heart of present-day Edmonton towards Fort Saskatchewan, an indication of the weakness of Edmonton's claim to centrality during the 1870s and the importance of the Anglican services of the North West Mounted Police at nearby Fort Saskatchewan. The location of the first Anglican church building in 1877 erred in the opposite direction, placed well west of the eventual settlement core on nine acres from Malcolm Groat.²³ In the same vicinity, more land donated by Groat was graced by the new Saint Joachim's Catholic Church, served by members of the Oblate Order, though the first resident cure did not arrive until 1883. The move, with some of the original materials from the chapel within the Fort which had sufficed since 1859, displayed a recognition of the same fact which no doubt helped to stimulate the founding of St. Albert diocese in 1871: this was henceforth intended to be a settled

rather than a fur-trading land.²⁴

The sale of lots in the Hudson's Bay Company reserve in the early 1880s permitted Catholic Bishop Grandin to purchase a block of land near the Fort for the construction of the third church of St. Joachim in 1886, on the location which became the centre of Edmonton Catholicism for decades to come. Here began the Catholic separate school system, a firm reality by 1888. Here also was built the first St. Joseph's Seminary in 1894. Not far away the "Grey Nuns" of the Catholic orphanage at St. Albert would respond to medical pleas with the first of Edmonton's hospitals in 1895. The Edmonton congregation, approaching 500 strong in the mid-1890s, served as a strong base from which to encourage organization in the newer community of South Edmonton, a firm indication of the coordination which actually existed between activities north and south of the river. Edmonton pastors began offering Mass in South Edmonton homes in the early 1890s; a small building was obtained to serve as chapel and school house from 1895 on for the St. Anthony's congregation and separate school district. Plans for more ostentatious buildings began to come to fruition in 1898.²⁵

The focus of the Anglican ministry in Edmonton took longer to settle in place at All Saints. The relative inaccessibility of its earliest westerly location caused an 1882 experiment known as St. Michael's congregation to be situated sometimes in the Edmonton Masonic hall, sometimes in the public school house, before it succumbed to lack of pastoral care in 1888. Small wonder: Canon Newton's time was spread

thinly among the diverse peoples of a vast territory in the 1880s. Besides a huge rural mission field and the North West Mounted Police, Newton was expected to minister to All Saints, the centre town mission, and the few folk of South Edmonton.²⁶

From a population of about seventy-five in 1892, South Edmonton gained some 1,000 residents in the next half dozen years. An Anglican congregation developed there simultaneously as Edmonton's All Saints found its ultimate location: both developments found their focus in the career of Henry Allen Gray. After the urban ministry of All Saints was separated from the rural work in 1890, it moved through a McKay Avenue site to its relatively central 103rd Street resting place by 1896. At the same time Holy Trinity Church was being organized in South Edmonton on land donated in 1893 by three members of the townsite company: Joseph McDonald, Frederick H. Sache and that indomitable town builder, Thomas Anderson. The clear-cut identification of these three with the fortunes of the southern community is offset by the successive service given by Gray, first to Holy Trinity between 1895 and 1897, then to All Saints and northern Alberta, in a career leading to his consecration as Edmonton's Anglican bishop.²⁷

Increasing complexity was signalled by the establishment of the fourth Christian denomination in permanently organized form in 1881. Twenty-nine Presbyterians gathered together in a carpenter shop to arrange the small congregation's first worship meetings, to take place in the loft over John A. McDougall's granary. First Presbyterian Church moved within a year into a church built on land donated by the Hudson's Bay

Company near the heart of the settlement. The ambitions of its members for the growth of both the congregation and the secular community were indicated in the seating capacity for 200 which was installed. By 1887 at least twenty-five families made up the congregation.²⁸ Such prominent Edmontonians as Frank Oliver, John A. McDougall, Thomas Hourston, Dr. MacKay, W. Johnstone Walker, Phil Heiminck and C. W. Sutter were included among the worshippers, but it was by no means an exclusive, rather a decidedly pioneer congregation. For new immigrants of the 1890s, the visible sign of this was the sizeable contingent of worshippers of mixed nativity. "Some Sundays nearly half the congregation would be half-breeds, many of whom had married white men," asserted choir director Augustus Bridle in later years. It took until 1896 for the congregation to emerge into self-support.²⁹

Rev. D. G. McQueen also conducted services in South Edmonton from 1890 on, shifting from an unfurnished apartment in the newly built Strathcona Hotel, through the station rooms of C.P.R. foreman James McDiarmid, the Massey-Harris farm machinery warehouse, the school on Whyte Avenue, the rear of Wilson's store and finally to the hall over Ferguson and Ross' hardware store, all before 1895. For one year, 1892-93, in the midst of this unsettled period, Methodists and Presbyterians cooperated in the construction of a small frame church, alternating in its use either morning or evening of every Sunday. When a full-time Methodist clergyman arrived, his congregation took over the church. In 1895 the South Edmonton Presbyterians found sufficient initiative and funds to build their

own frame church.³⁰

Thus the early entry of four churches into the pioneer stages of Edmonton's development was matched by the speed with which they organized in South Edmonton settlement after its genesis. By 1898 the Catholic, Methodist, Anglican and Presbyterian denominations were solidly anchored in the small communities, while others, such as the Baptists, laid rapid claim to their share of the denominational landscape in the last years of the century. Organized as late as 1893 with nineteen members, First Baptist Church expanded to more than eighty by 1896, when nineteen of them originated a new South Edmonton congregation.³¹ As each denomination consolidated its organizational strength, a distinctly fractured community might seem to be the inevitable result, but fraternization and cooperation (as in the example of the Methodists and Presbyterians temporarily sharing a church building) appear for the most part to have overcome potential animosities. Mutual tolerance among diverse segments of the community in the pioneer years is nowhere better demonstrated than in the world of the church organizations, perhaps the most firmly established institutions of the early Edmonton settlement.

The first purpose of the churches was not, however, the fostering of community cooperation, even if they did easily transcend the superficial river division between Edmonton and South Edmonton. Certain basic public services, first among them education, were organized for the community as a whole by the citizens in concert as the need was perceived. Edmontonians created the first public school board in the Territories in

1881. Nor was a loose system of voluntary financial subscription regarded as adequate, in spite of early school enrolments of fewer than thirty. In 1882 the citizens determined, over the objections of the property rich Hudson's Bay Company, to assess a property tax, the source of some local friction until 1884. Clearly sufficient Territorial immigration and settlement then warranted the extension of Territorial government responsibilities to the formation of a general school district system. The addition of a South Edmonton public school district followed in 1892.

Here was the importation of a typically Upper Canadian institution, but none of it prevented those who were able, as the Hardistys were, from sending their children to Great Britain for their education.³² The Lower Canadian example was followed by the Catholic pioneers, who founded a separate Edmonton school board in 1888, giving some permanence to efforts of the preceding two years to attach a school to St. Joachim's Church. The board could after 1888 count on continuation of the teaching services of the newly arrived Sisters of the Faithful Companion of Jesus, who also began in 1895 to provide teaching services for the St. Anthony's Separate School Board formed on the south side a year earlier.³³ Another Catholic order, as we have seen, provided the sole means by which Edmonton residents acquired hospital services after 1895.

The twin spurs of local ambition and the fear of South Edmonton aggressiveness appear to have driven Edmonton to incorporation in early 1892, but there was more to this move

than the simple extension of the activities of the Board of Trade (which had existed since 1889) to the whole Edmonton community of some 700 souls three years later.³⁴ It is true that the businessmen of the town expected its Council to advertise Edmonton's advantages abroad in pamphlets, newspapers and magazines, but no concerted policy to attract settlers and private enterprises with special concessions and inducements was developed until well after the turn of the century.³⁵

Instead, steady but unspectacular growth in the mid-nineties forced Council's attention to the necessity of providing certain basic services for the town at large. With no charter mandate to own civic utilities until 1900, only to regulate them, Council struggled through the 1890s, with a series of inadequate solutions to waste, sewerage, street lighting and municipal transportation problems. Water was supplied by a cumbersome system of private wells and horse-drawn wagons distributing water from the North Saskatchewan to receptacles along the streets of town. Once, in 1893, wooden tanks reserved to hold water for fire fighting purposes were found to be empty when required. One of the first by-laws of 1892 attempted to look after street lighting by granting a monopoly of the service to a private company of local residents known as the Edmonton Electric Light Company. Despite repeated complaints about interruptions in the service and corresponding Council threats to reduce payments to the Company, the first five year contract was followed by a renewal apparently only because adequate alternatives were unknown. Perhaps only the Edmonton Telephone Company, formed in 1893, presented a satis-

factory example of a municipal service provided by private monopoly, but even it was destined for municipal takeover in 1903.³⁶

The effect of this concentration on common utilities was to escalate the process by which urban residents, unable to do without one another, become dependent on the governing corporation for alterations in their amenities. A similar community orientation may be seen in the development of Edmonton's entertainment from the earliest years. One of the Edmonton Council's first acts was to acquire a municipal park, a square twenty-five acre block in the remaining Hudson's Bay Company Reserve in 1893.³⁷ Though not a monumental accomplishment, this measure nevertheless stands out as the sign of Edmonton's formal entry into communal recreation.

That process was well underway long before 1893, even if forms of entertainment increasingly distasteful to civilized Edmontonians lingered on. Drunkenness and sporadic debauchery continued to be associated with Edmonton in the 1880s as it had in the 1850s and earlier, although with some difference. In the 1850s it was best (though not uniquely) known in connection with spring fur trading expeditions to the Fort by the Blackfoot and Cree. By the 1880s it was certain permanent residents of Edmonton who provoked the greatest disgust in local clergymen for their lax morality and excessive drinking. Christmas Eve celebrations were alleged to include not only drunkenness but also saloon fights between civilians and the local police.³⁸

Among more innocent pursuits, once only dog-racing,

especially among the Metis and other Company men, supplemented the regular pastime of horse-racing. During the 1880s, however, these traditional amusements were placed on improving race tracks, while somewhat more genteel and old-country activities such as cricket, association football, lacrosse, lawn tennis and croquet, skating, indoor bowling, dancing and minstrel shows became popular. The influx of eastern Canadian wives was noticeable, probably nowhere so much as in the development of quite regular church socials.

Associated with the organization of recreation were the pioneer sponsoring clubs: a cricket club, a lacrosse club, a baseball club, an athletic association, a Masonic lodge and eventually the Edmonton Curling Club, whose affiliation with the Scottish Royal Caledonian Curling Club typified the standard superimposition of well established external institutions on the raw fledgling community. Church functions are a further example. The semi-military traditions of the North West Mounted Police were in this setting important for more than mere law and order: Mounted Police balls and minstrel shows at Fort Saskatchewan could last through the night and attract as many as 300 revellers. Even the undesirable excitement of the Saskatchewan Metis rebellion in 1885 had a lasting formal recreational effect. As a result of Canadian militia presence and local defence organization, the Edmonton Rifle Association arranged regular marksmanship competitions.³⁹

The process continued into the 1890s, more noticeably in the longer-settled northern community than in abruptly rising South Edmonton. The Edmonton Curling Club was by 1896

sufficiently well-supported to build its first covered rink. A tennis club formed in 1891 with only seven members expanded to 20 the following year, enough to finance a tennis court beside the Methodist church. A bicycling club was in full gear by 1893, mainly for excursion fun, although some members were not averse to competing in meets throughout the North West Territories. That modern bastion of sporting civilization, the golf club, arrived as the Edmonton Golf Club in 1896 on a five hole links (soon expanded) at a site below the Hudson's Bay Company's "Big House," which served as an ample clubhouse. In these activities women were immediately or almost at once regular and avid participants.⁴⁰

These signs of permanent organization for entertainment, particularly sporting entertainment, were in the 1890s accompanied by the beginnings of pan-municipal coordination of matters formerly left to ad hoc arrangements. At some point Edmonton acquired a sports committee of sorts, with sub-committees for cricket, football and tennis. Their chief function was to aid in defraying transportation costs to permit competition with individuals or teams in communities outside Edmonton. Sports days became planned spectacles. The May 24 celebrations in 1895 were scheduled for two days by six sports committees; \$2,000 in total prizes were offered to winners in contests such as rugby football, rifle matches, trap shooting, horse racing, bicycle racing and track and field events. The passion for system in sport reached down into school ranks. A Bulletin editorial in late December, 1892 rejoiced over the school principal's initiative in organizing extra-curricular soccer for

school-boys. It was not only that the game bestowed such physical and moral benefits on the boys as to "make men of them." It was even more important, apparently, that such a system introduced so early would ensure the maintenance of adult clubs when the boys grew up and would "not let them fall through as is too common a thing in Edmonton."⁴¹

The completion of the Calgary-Edmonton railway to South Edmonton stimulated urban identifications in the realm of sports in two different ways. The first significant inter-community rivalry, hitherto hardly possible to express actively, developed between Edmonton and Calgary. The first recorded baseball game between Edmonton and Calgary teams was played in 1892. Association football (soccer) matches between teams from the rival centres began about the same time. The Edmonton "Thistles" hockey team (named for the rink used after 1892) invited a Calgary competitor to its tournament at least as early as 1895. In hockey, however, the strongest inter-community rivalry to be exploited was not between Edmonton and Calgary, or between Edmonton and Fort Saskatchewan, but between Edmonton and the creature of the railway terminal, South Edmonton. Games between the Thistles and the South Edmonton Shamrocks were played on a challenge basis from 1894 until regular "league" competition commenced at this adult level in 1897. Each team also sponsored a junior feeder. The tussle of the close neighbours extended to other sports, but not as formally or tenaciously as in hockey.⁴²

In sports, as in certain other areas, the two communities defined themselves by reference to their principal perceived

antagonists across the river. But their separateness in the artificial realm of sports was an illusion. In reality the most significant general evolution for the Edmontonians in the 1890s was toward increasing formal organization and the myriad forms of cooperation which went with it. In the years to follow, the sense or feeling of division stimulated by the events surrounding the construction of the Calgary-Edmonton railway would be undermined by all the realities of urban organization which stressed unity. Major events of 1898 would point out emphatically how completely shared were the objectives of the two Edmontons.

Footnotes

1. Alice M. Johnson, ed. and intro., Saskatchewan Journals and Correspondence (London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, vol. 26, 1967), 77, fn. 4; Beatrice A. Ockley, "A History of Early Edmonton" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1932), 3-17; A. S. Morton, A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71 (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1973 /1939/, 511, 609, 630-31, 980; E. E. Rich, The History of the Hudson's Bay Company, vol. 2, 1763-1870 (London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1959), 208; John MacLean, McDougall of Alberta (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1927), 263. The sources for the available published information about pre-1898 Edmonton are not always obvious or necessarily clear of reason for doubt; much could be done to document a serious history of nineteenth century Edmonton, as a contribution at once to our understanding of the fur trading companies, the Indian peoples, the Metis and the earliest Caucasian residents. In the circumstances I have tried to stick with defensible general observations from the best available published sources, which are not altogether and everywhere untrustworthy, but rather uneven and constantly to be treated with caution.

2. Ockley, "A History," 17-21, 26-28, 94-97; R. A. Christenson, "The Calgary and Edmonton Railway and the Edmonton Bulletin" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1967), 35-36; Morton, A History, 690, 697-703, this last reference for a description of a typical Edmonton annual cycle of the time; Rich, The History, 275, 314-315, 488-489, the last reference for

an indication that Edmonton's central position after 1821 was nevertheless accompanied by economies of management which probably prevented much growth in population.

See also Peter Erasmus, Buffalo Days and Nights, as told to Henry Thompson (Calgary, Glenbow - Alberta Institute, 1976), 36-48 for some aspects of the Fort Edmonton of winter, 1856-7; Irene M. Spry, The Palliser Expedition (Toronto, Macmillan of Canada, 1963), 103-4, 177, 185, 204-5 for observations on the Fort Edmonton of 1858-9, and Marjorie Wilkins Campbell, The Saskatchewan (N.Y., Tor., Rinehard and Co., 1950), 152-175 on the 1840s and 1850s.

3. Ockley, "A History," 78-79, 98, 157; J. G. MacGregor, The Klondike Rush Through Edmonton 1897-1898 (Toronto/Montreal, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1970), 7-8.

4. Ockley, "A History," 119-123; Frank Oliver, "The Founding of Edmonton," typescript address, 1921, 6-8: Glenbow - Alberta Institute Archives (hereafter cited as GAI), Calgary; Frank Oliver, "The Founding of Edmonton," Queen's Quarterly, vol. 37, no. 1 (1930), 78-94; J. G. MacGregor, Edmonton: A History (Edmonton, M. G. Hurtig, 1967), 82-84, 89.

5. MacLean, McDougall, 169-170; W. A. Griesbach, I Remember (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1946), 146-149; MacGregor, Edmonton, 89-94; J. G. MacGregor, Edmonton Trader (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1963), 113, 118-120, 144; E. H. MacDonald, Edmonton Fort - House - Factory (Edmonton, Douglas Printing Co., 1959), 174.

6. E. J. Hart, "The History of the French Speaking Community of Edmonton, 1795-1935" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1971), 14-29.

7. Christenson, "The Calgary," 26, 39; A. O. Macrae, History of the Province of Alberta (Western Canada History Company, 1912), vol. 1, 496-500, 539-545, 600-601; vol. 2, 673-674; John Blue, Alberta: Past and Present (Chicago, Pioneer Publishing Co., 1924), vol. 2, 36-41; vol. 3, 60-63; Henry J. Boam, comp., Twentieth Century Impressions of Canada (London, Sells Ltd., 1914), 715, 718-19; MacGregor, Edmonton Trader, 6-83, 127-128, 143-162, 195-196; John F. McDougall, "John A. McDougall, Trader," Alberta Historical Review, vol. 8, no. 3 (Summer, 1960), 16-26; W. S. Waddell, "The Honourable Frank Oliver" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1950), vol. 1.

8. MacGregor, Edmonton Trader, 201-202; E. A. Corbett, McQueen of Edmonton (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1934), 34-39; Macrae, History, vol. 1, 520-521, 525-527; vol. 2, 688-689, 726, 859, 879-881, 891-895; Blue, Alberta, vol. 2, 100-102; vol. 3, 48-52.

9. Morris Zaslow, The Opening of the Canadian North 1870 - 1914 (Toronto, Montreal, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1971), 54, 62-63.

10. Ockley, "A History," 238-256; D. G. Embree, "The Rise of the United Farmers of Alberta" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1956), 5-10, Appendix A, 270 ff.: at least by the late 1880s non-farming Edmontonians regularly figured prominently in Agricultural Society boards of directors.
11. Ockley, "A History," 137-156; MacGregor, Edmonton Trader, 140-141; MacGregor, Edmonton, 86, 91-92.
12. E. A. Mitchner, "The North Saskatchewan River Settlement Claims, 1883-1884," in L. H. Thomas, ed., Essays on Western History (Edmonton, University of Alberta Press, 1976), 136-138.
13. Christenson, "The Calgary and Edmonton," 28-38; Zaslow, The Opening, 55-59, 89-90; MacGregor, Edmonton Trader, 150-157.
14. Christenson, "The Calgary and Edmonton," 39-42, 53-65.
15. Ibid., 66-103, 214; John F. Gilpin, "The City of Strathcona 1891-1912" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1978), 1-3, 16.
16. Christenson, "The Calgary and Edmonton," 177-179; Gilpin, "The City," 1-3, 16.
17. Christenson, "The Calgary and Edmonton," 180-186.
18. The following account is drawn from Ibid., 141-162; E. H. Dale, "The Role of the City Council in the Economic and Social Development of Edmonton, Alberta, 1892-1966" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Alberta, 1969), 2-11; H. K.-Y. Lai, "Evolution of the Railway Network of Edmonton and its Land Use Effects" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1967), 11-19. For Blair's involvement in the federal government and railways, see R. C. Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1974), 9, 152-153, based primarily on information on the Ph.D. Dissertation by T. D. Regehr which has been expanded into the book, The Canadian Northern Railway...1895-1918 (Toronto, Macmillan of Canada, 1976), 66-71 and 164-167.
19. Judging by the lack of success attending Conservative efforts to initiate a partisan newspaper in Edmonton in 1892 and 1893, Edmonton must have been regarded as a Liberal stronghold. See J. C. F. Bown Papers, File 204, GAI.
20. J. H. Riddell, Methodism in the Middle West (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1946), 24-31, 45-48; Ockley, "A History," 157, 207-209.
21. Ockley, "A History," 74-77; R. A. MacLean, "The History of the Roman Catholic Church in Edmonton" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1958), 7-13, 34-37; Emile J. Legal, comp., Short Sketches of the History of the Catholic Churches and Missions in Central Alberta (1914), 25; Katherine Hughes, Father

Lacombe (Toronto, Wm. Briggs, 1914 (1911)): J. G. MacGregor, Father Lacombe (Edmonton, Hurtig, 1975).

22. Ockley, "A History," 209-211; 1871-1931 Diamond Jubilee of McDougall United Church (Edmonton, 1931), 10: subscription list, 1874.

23. Ockley, "A History," 215-228; Frank A. Peake, "The Beginnings of the Diocese of Edmonton, 1875-1913" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1952), 11-22; Eric J. Holmgren, "William Newton and the Anglican Church," Alberta History, vol. 23, no. 2 (Spring, 1975), 17-20.

24. MacLean, "The History," 37; Hart, "The History of the French Speaking," 18-19.

25. Maclean, "The History," 38-42, 99-102, 119-125; Hart, "The History of the French Speaking," 35.

26. Peake, "The Beginnings," 64-68.

27. Ibid., 51-63, 68-72; O. R. Rowley, The Anglican Episcopate of Canada and Newfoundland (Milwaukee/London, Morehouse Publ. Co./A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1928), 181: "The Right Reverend Henry Allen Gray, D. D., LL.D."; Gilpin, "The City," 35.

28. Ockley, "A History," 229-236; MacGregor, Edmonton Trader, 149; Corbett, McQueen, 42-44; J. J. H. Morris, "The Presbyterian Church in Edmonton, Northern Alberta, and the Klondike, 1881-1925 (Unpublished M.Th. Thesis, Vancouver School of Theology, 1974), 8ff.; Hugh McKellar, Presbyterian Pioneer Missionaries in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia (Toronto, Murray Printing Co. Ltd., 1924), 107-110; R. J. Burton, ed., "Growth": A History and Anthology of the Synod of Alberta of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (The Synod's History Committee, 1968), 51-52.

29. Corbett, McQueen, 74-78.

30. Knox United Church, The Knox Story 1907-1967...Dating Back to 1891 (Edmonton, 1967), 17-20; Gilpin, "The City," 33-34.

31. C. C. McLaurin, Pioneering in Western Canada: A Story of the Baptists (Calgary, The Author, 1939), 129-131; Gilpin, "The City," 34-35.

32. Ockley, "A History," 157-172; Macrae, History, vol. 2, 890-891; Taped interview with Mrs. Mary Norman, Miss Shirley Calder, Miss June Calder by Naomi Radford, November, 1967, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton (hereafter cited as PAA); Gilpin, "The City," 38-39.

33. Hart, "The History of the French Speaking," 30-31; MacLean, "The History," 38-42, 99-102.

34. MacGregor, Edmonton Trader, 201-205; Corbett, McQueen, 36-37.
35. Dale, "The Role," 22-23, 31.
36. Ibid., 56-58, 65-66, 79-80.
37. Ibid., 119-120.
38. Erasmus, Buffalo Days, 36-48; Hughes, Father Lacombe, 59-61; Holmgren, "William Newton," 21; Peake, "The Beginnings," 34.
39. Ockley, "A History," 257-265, 285-306; John McDougall, Forest, Lake and Prairie (Toronto, Ryerson Press, n.d.), 261-262; Griesbach, I Remember, 89-91; Helen M. Eckert, "The Development of Organized Recreation and Physical Education in Alberta" (Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1953), 37-60; John E. Reid, "Sports and Games in Alberta Before 1900" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1969), 14-15, 23-33, 38-42, 46, 53, 65-67, 86-87.
40. Eckert, "The Development," 49-57; Reid, "Sports and Games," 18-21, 28, 53.
41. Eckert, "The Development," 41, 61; Reid, "Sports and Games," 60-61.
42. Eckert, "The Development," 39-40, 47, 52; Reid, "Sports and Games," 49-50, 71-73; Griesbach, I Remember, 151, 189-190.

SECTION I: EDMONTON IN 1898

Chapter 3: The People.

A municipal census is available for Edmonton proper in 1898, but not for South Edmonton.¹ The specific date of the tally is unknown, although in Edmonton summer is presumably a more favourable time for door-to-door canvassing than winter. The data is restricted in scope. For each household it is possible to discover the number of residents, of males and females, of male and of female boarders, and of Roman Catholics or "others" (most presumably Protestant). Only two groups within the non-Roman Catholic majority were separately identified: thirteen Jews and thirteen "China-men".

Surprisingly, the population of Edmonton (2,212) for that instant in 1898 was almost evenly divided between males and females, the male majority amounting to just 53 percent, and this at a time when a rapid influx was supposedly taking place. At the outset of the prairie settlement boom, it seems, Edmonton's was a relatively stable domestic populace. One might better estimate the extent of this stability by separating out of the total those who might be in some way more or less impermanently settled. Subtracting designated "boarders" and those living above or behind mercantile establishments like stores, livery stables, brickyards and offices; omitting those living in hotels, tents, barrack-like accommodations (N.W.M.P., Salvation Army, Catholic convents & mission) and (with misgivings) the hospital, we are left with the absolute minimum population attached to permanent homes. Let us refer

to these units as households: in Edmonton in 1898 there were 375 of them with a population of 1711. That is the second surprise. So far Edmonton's was a residentially stable population. Even those eliminated from consideration, who must include some long-term residents who could not be labelled transients, added only an additional 219 to the enumerated 282 "boarders" for a total of 501, less than one-quarter of Edmonton. The vast majority of Edmonton's early citizens were firmly located.

The population of South Edmonton at the same time, amounting to between 1,000 and 1,200², might be regarded as a newer population, most of it arriving after 1891 and the beginning of the Calgary-Edmonton railway. But Edmonton grew at virtually the same rate during the 1890s; perhaps, we are entitled to speculate, South Edmonton's population was as firmly domestic, as firmly set on a household basis as was Edmonton's.

The people were residentially well spread out. (See the map on page 277.) The most crowded streets were still in the centre of Edmonton, with Jasper Avenue pre-eminent. Were one to add the river lot sections of 1st to 10th Streets to their upper, Hudson's Bay Reserve extensions, these too, stretching in north-south parallel lines westward from centre town, showed obvious growth. 1st through 6th Streets (smaller numbered streets being closest to town) were heavily populated, but it was 5th (122) not 1st (97) which was fringed with the largest number of residents. After a break, 10th Street again showed a concentration of population (85) in the vicinity of the Catholic convent and St. Joachim's Mission. Only a few

lived as far west as 14th Street. The extension eastward was not as significant as to the west of town centre.

Households were clearly not crowded. In contrast with poorer sections in such older, eastern urban centres as Montreal,³ Edmonton's population was, at least at the outset, generously separated into individual houses. The 282 "boarders" listed include 91 in hotels, hospitals and immigration halls; subtracting these and adding the remainder (191) to the household population (1711) shows 1902 people spread over 375 households, or an average of barely over 5 per house. The small remainder (310) occupied the numerous shop's quarters, tents, hotels, hospitals, immigration halls and barrack rooms. With a rate of about five residents per household (and probably per house), this little town could boast living accommodations if not grand at least spacious. Even though, judging from the usual evidence in photographs, the frame houses were not extraordinarily large, neither do they seem to have been inordinately small; they could easily accommodate such low rates of population density. There were not even any areas tending in the least to significant variation from the mean.

Nearly one-third of Edmontonians (688) were reported to be Roman Catholic. 5th through 11th Streets on old Hudson's Bay Reserve land showed the heaviest proportion of Roman Catholic population, the only identifiable area of a Roman Catholic majority, logical in view of the 10th Street location of St. Joachim's Church. On those streets nearly 60 percent of the residents were listed as Roman Catholics. In the same vicinity the Hudson's Bay Fort and the surrounding

Flat were almost entirely populated by Roman Catholics. Ignoring several tents in the Hudson's Bay Flat because of their impermanent connotations, we see a concentration of 209 Roman Catholics in a neighbourhood of 320 residents: nearly a two to one ratio in favour of Roman Catholics there neatly reversed the prevailing proportions for the city at large. In addition, while they cannot properly be isolated from the last, in view of the pattern south of Jasper Avenue, most of the goodly number of Roman Catholics living on Jasper Avenue may also have been situated at the west end of the Avenue.

The effect of this concentration was to increase the non-Catholic majority in other parts of the city, widening the gap between the largely Protestant complexion of the rest of town and the Roman Catholic pocket, even though few areas were empty of Catholics. In Edmonton, too, a good proportion of Catholics were French speaking. The division would be expressed in the issue of prohibition. A sign that the French speaking residents were quite conscious of their unique cultural origin was the appearance in 1898 of L'Ouest Canadien, a French language Edmonton newspaper managed by a committee including Rev. J. B. Morin, J. E. Laurencelle, L. J. Cartier and Fred Villeneuve. Villeneuve, indeed, embodied the most vigorous spirit of the effort for cultural survival within the greater Edmonton community. He was simultaneously immersed in the planning for a banquet in honour of Frank Oliver on the one hand, while directing the "musical circle" of the Edmonton St. Jean Baptiste society for a contribution to the St. Jean Baptiste day celebration with branches in Morinville, St.

Albert and Fort Saskatchewan.⁴

The general population was, judging from the names listed in census and directory, overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon or French in background. Other people of alien ethnic origin were paid very little public attention, except in the special case of "Galicians", in contrast to the detailed introduction published in the newspapers to new district settlers of British Canadian or American extraction. Within the towns, Chinese, Indian and Jewish people received scant newspaper attention but for mention of incidental oddities. That "Hebrew" places of business closed for the "Hebrew New Year" and the day of atonement was a curiosity worth reporting. Information that "a new Chinese restaurant is being opened" carried with it not the identity of the proprietor, but of his neighbour, whose grocery store occupied the adjoining building. The "syllabic characters" of the Cree formed one of the diversions of a winter social at the Methodist parsonage. Only one motive could seem to make the Indian people important as news in normal times: "Chief Ermineskin and his band, about 250 strong, arrived on Tuesday from Bear's Hill reserve to spend their treaty money...."⁵

Two groups were noticed somewhat more. Some German language immigrants attracted attention for seeming to possess "some means". They were present in sufficient numbers for both Presbyterians and Baptists to send clergymen occasionally to preach German sermons in Edmonton and South Edmonton. There were enough too to justify occasional German language newspaper advertisements.⁶ The response to Germans was immeasurably more

positive than that to the poorly understood "Galicians".

Most of these (hundreds, if not thousands) stopped in South Edmonton only at the "immigration sheds" on their way to homesteads. While they were in Edmonton, though, they made a sharp impact. First, they came suddenly in numbers far too large for the temporary accommodations, described by the Plaindealer as "only suitable for the peasant classes of Europe who have ... occupied it." Whether from disease or the deprivations of the long journey, the immigrant children courted death by the time of their arrival. Several perished in the immigrant sheds during the summer, and smallpox was associated with them. The Galicians could on occasion modify the general antipathy surrounding them by displays of their dances in front of the immigration buildings for large crowds of appreciative spectators, and the spectacle of Greek Catholic worship service conducted once at St. Joachim's Roman Catholic Church for the Galicians attracted a large proportion of the regular Roman Catholic congregation to its unusual congregational singing. But these curiosities scarcely budged opinions that they were, with their meagre financial resources, in the long run absolutely undesirable. "If the thing can't be stopped in any other way," raged the Plaindealer editor with a reference to an earlier epic Edmonton struggle, "we would advise that the land office volunteers of Edmonton get out their shooting irons, send recruiting officers around the country for a day or two and then meet the next train that brings such rubbish, with the firm resolve that they shall not land in this district."⁷

They were described as "a race unaccustomed to the liberties of a free people, cunning, suspicious and the right sort to develop into anarchists," while on the other hand tarred by the same critic for falling prone to "the inducements offered by the Roman Catholic clergy." A tussle in Galician settlements between Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic priests, so complex it could not have been so soon understood properly by the Plaindealer editor, was thus used indiscriminately to ally the Galicians with the alleged worst aspects of French Canada: "These people now fall in line with the effort to make northern Alberta a stronghold of Rome." Some of the immigrant families must have had to remain in this hostile atmosphere throughout the winter of 1898-99 while their men left them to earn money working at railway construction. The privation they endured was only minimally offset by inadequate government assistance with basic necessities.⁸

How did the established people support themselves? Using the Edmonton and South Edmonton entries in the appropriate Henderson's Directory for the North West Territory as the core information, and supplementing it (or, in some cases, correcting it) from newspaper advertisements and stories, biographical collections, census data and other sources⁹, it is possible to arrive at quite a detailed answer. The resulting composite directory contains about 400 entries, which because of some repetition should be pared down to an estimated 350 names of family heads of Edmonton and South Edmonton. Extrapolating from the 375 households shown to exist in Edmonton, there could probably be no more than 575 in both communities together,

exclusive of boarders and people living in other more or less impermanent situations. Taking them also into account, it is still clear that the directory would cover a good half of the population, especially that half engaged in advertisable business, trades or professions. The greatest deficiency of the directory is undoubtedly in the realm of labourers, whether of warehouse, factory or office, working for those who are listed. About them, unfortunately, little can be said.

About those who are identified, certain cautious observations may be made, bearing in mind the errors of print, spelling or worse that are the frequent plague of such directories. Foremost among the patterns to be seen is a preponderance of people engaged in ongoing services - professions, trades, retail stores - to the every day transactions of domestic life. Among the professionals, for example, civil engineers, architects and surveyors were a small proportion: three, two and two respectively. The town had not yet begun to build on the expectation of endless rapid expansion. There were, on the other hand, fourteen lawyers and three or four law students attached to their offices: evenly distributed, each lawyer would serve only about 240 residents, men, women and children. Nine doctors, two of them in South Edmonton, would each be responsible for almost 360 residents. The number of teachers escalated with the population, but at the crest of the wave, seventeen teachers were teaching or had taught Edmonton and South Edmonton non-Catholic children. In all about seventy professionals were listed, fully twenty percent, an inordinate proportion of the populace, more in Edmonton proper, fewer in South Edmonton.

Tradesmen too were domestic service oriented. Only one bricklayer was mentioned, just five carpenters. There were, on the other hand, five butchers in Edmonton alone, three more in South Edmonton, among them John Gainer, whose Pioneer Meat Market has since expanded into a major meatpacking industry known by the founder's name. Transportation was a function nearly as much required as food; the travel mode of the day was well served by ten blacksmiths, four of them in South Edmonton. Other than these notable categories mentioned, the remainder of trades were represented by very few practitioners. Sixty-five tradesmen in all covered twenty-one trades: **bakers**, barbers, bookkeepers, a dye maker, foundrymen, harnessmakers and saddlers, machinist, painters, a photographer, shoemakers, tailors, tanners, a taxidermist, teamsters and draymen, wagon makers, watchmakers and pump maker.

Household requirements were purchased in at least sixty different establishments, most of them specialty shops. But no fewer than fifteen general stores operated. Though the brief flurry of the Klondike excitement was no doubt responsible for the creation of some of them, most are recognizably associated with earlier days - names like Gariepy and Chenier, LaRue and Picard, McDougall and Secord, J. H. Morris and company, William Johnstone Walker, Arthur Davies, James McCrie Douglas. Eleven grocery stores dispensed food. Five clothing ("dry goods") stores and two millinery experts provided clothing. Seven coal outlets, four of them in Edmonton, provided energy; eight hardware stores carried common domestic supplies. These basic services occupied 46 (or nearly 60%) of the Edmontons' merchant

establishments.

Businesses exploiting the investment field were not numerous. There were but seven real estate agents recorded for Edmonton, another six for the south side. Eight agents sold insurance and three "commodities" stocks. There were only two banks (three at the end of the year). Many in the financial business carried on other activities simultaneously. Nor were construction enterprises over-represented. Only three building contractors were found listed for Edmonton, another two for South Edmonton. Locally produced construction materials, especially of wood or brick, do seem to have been adequately available; five entrepreneurs on the north side were supplemented by two on the south side. Still, massive building seemed a long way off.

On the other hand, hotels (probably for the purposes of opening liquor-licensed premises) abounded. Edmonton had six, South Edmonton no fewer than five and possibly seven: eleven or thirteen hotels for a community the size of the Edmontons must surely have contained excessive capacity in any other year but 1898, had sleeping accommodation been the only objective. Besides hotel dining rooms, there seem to have been seven restaurants, five in Edmonton; six livery stables, again five in Edmonton, and two laundry businesses with the expected Chinese names. These enterprises to provide special comforts far out-numbered the establishments distributing farmers' supplies, particularly farm machinery. Thus, they complete our picture of a people earning their livings serving one another's domestic needs. It is a picture of a

citizenship yet barely aware of the opportunities available from the approaching immigration boom, while other basic economic underpinnings like manufacturing were virtually nonexistent.¹⁰

Let us narrow the focus even further, from the slight majority whose heads occupied themselves in the trade-off of respectable non-labouring services, to the eighty who achieved sufficient prominence to have their biographical details recorded in published anthologies at various points in their careers. There were mainly small businessmen and professionals who had been in Edmonton or South Edmonton an average of nine years by 1898. Their average age was thirty-eight, and this fairly accurately reflected the maturity of the majority, for two-thirds had been born after mid-century yet before the creation of Manitoba. Only one-sixth had been born on or before 1850, another sixth after 1870. Edmonton's prominent citizens were not exactly veterans, therefore, nor were they natives to the place, but they were in the prime of life and were well settled in the modest towns. Most had arrived during the 1880s or early 1890s and had come with a decade's adult experience already behind them. These did not seem to be a transient lot.¹¹

On the other hand, they had all come from elsewhere to Edmonton. While a good two-thirds were Canadian born, only two were born in western Canada. Nearly half were Ontario born, another quarter natives of Great Britain. None had been born in the United States. Not precisely aliens because of their central Canadian or British origins, they were at the same time

westerners only by immigration, although a number had been long enough in the west to identify pretty closely with it.¹² A substantial majority of their fathers were British by birth, as were a good half of their mothers. Only one-third of their fathers were Canadian born, although slightly more of their mothers were. More of the subjects themselves had, of course, experience with life in Canada, where the majority of them were born.¹³

The same Anglo-Saxon predominance is evident in their religious affiliations. Two-thirds of those for whom we have records were either Presbyterians (nearly one-half) or Anglicans (only one-fifth). The notable minority here were Catholics (one quarter); those left over were Methodist or Baptist.¹⁴

Most of their fathers seem to have had some small means or at least rude independence, but by no means wealth or important standing. Nevertheless, there was a noteworthy absence of urban labourers among them, suggesting that perhaps that was an inadequate basis from which to derive the prerequisite - whether money, education, spirit or ambition - to stimulate attempts at modest entrepreneurship or professional service in a pioneer community as isolated as Edmonton. About forty percent of the fathers appear to have been farmers experiencing some degree of success, usually not immense. Half that proportion operated businesses, most of small scale.. Nearly as many were government employees, one-eighth were tradesmen, fewer than a tenth professionals. None were reported to be labourers in urban factories or the mines that provided some of their raw materials, although there were of

course some for whom the fathers' occupations were not reported.¹⁵

The childhoods of our subjects were such as might have been predicted from the foregoing information. Not many moved very far during their childhood from the place of their birth. Nearly half had Ontario up-bringsings, one-fifth were raised at scattered locations in the United Kingdom, another quarter at widely separated parts in the Maritime or western or Quebec regions of Canada. A good majority grew up in rural or village settings; only by stretching the category to combine town and city dwellers might one conceivably credit one-third of them with urban childhoods. While there were between the place of childhood and Edmonton significant differences in the broad population densities and the periods of settlement, it is quite possible to argue that for leading Edmontonians the communities from which they came were similar to that at which they arrived, the greatest distinction being the relative ages of the communities.¹⁶

Almost all these early leaders received some degree of education, although about one-half stopped at various elementary public school stages. Fully one-third went on to universities, usually in professional faculties, or seminaries; one-sixth to instruction in a trade. Not only were their fathers not the urban poor, therefore, but they themselves undertook the western adventure with basic or better educational preparation. Several even enjoyed the privilege of some private school education.¹⁷

Edmonton was at the time scarcely important enough to attract its citizens directly to it. Most seem originally to

have pointed themselves rather more generally and vaguely toward western Canada, occasionally even passing briefly into the United States, prior to discovering Edmonton. We have seen that the great majority of them began and grew up in central Canada or the United Kingdom, virtually none of them in the west; yet more than half spent significant periods of time in western Canada before settling at Edmonton. In their decade or so of earning their livelihoods before arrival at Edmonton they did not, however, drift from one career to another. It was their original occupation that nearly half left to come to Edmonton; few had tried more than two kinds of livelihood, and of course, some were sufficiently young to have had no occupational experience whatsoever. This was a reasonably stable group, an impression no doubt strengthened by the presence in the group of the one-fourth who practised professions.¹⁸

This discussion has so far left out nearly half the people involved, the wives. Ignored in the records of the time, they can be identified only inadequately by the name and the general place of their origins. About eighty percent were residents of Canada before their marriage date, twenty percent actually in Edmonton, the remainder widely scattered. A few came from overseas, mainly from the United Kingdom.¹⁹

In Edmonton these families created the network of essential businesses and services for the surrounding agricultural region. About one-tenth were involved in agriculture - related business like flour mills, meat packing plants or breweries. Almost one-fifth successfully plied varieties of general retail trade. One-quarter were professionals, mainly

legal, medical and theological experts. Another quarter provided the assorted services of government, transportation, bookkeeping and hotel management. These men did not have to create within the towns the basic industry which sustained them; they came to take advantage of what was developing around them. Indeed, ninety percent of them were providing essential basic services mainly for each other, a population externally justified and supported.²⁰ Yet even that ninety percent, seemingly far removed occupationally from the countryside, were surviving in Edmonton because of the land resource development in surrounding rural regions. It was a general circumstance and setting with which they were quite familiar before they arrived.

The distinction of this "elite" from the population at large was not pronounced in 1898. It was defined occupationally by the exclusion of tradesmen and labourers, but included virtually all levels of professionals and businessmen, no matter what the scale of operation. It was defined ethnically and denominationally by a preponderance of Canadian Protestants of British ancestry, but did not yet altogether exclude French speaking Catholic representatives of the only other major ethnic - denominational group. The absence of labourers from all accounts bears silent testimony to the most significant social division in the Edmonton community. Even so, there is no clear evidence of drastic inequity in accommodation or household size anywhere in the town. Another clear distinction between British Canadian and French Metis or Canadian language and denominational elements was somewhat ameliorated by

the organization of the French speaking group in such a way as not only to preserve itself but also to reduce the threat perceived in the pursuit of cordial relations with English speaking Edmontonians. This was a population reasonably well adjusted to one another, although with signs Galician immigrants would run into opposition if and when they attempted to penetrate the Edmonton community. Otherwise, where there were possibilities of division there were also modifying conditions.

Footnotes

1. Handwritten copy of Edmonton municipal census data by household is held by Edmonton City Archives. No later records are kept longer than ten years.
2. Alberta Plaindealer (AP), September 16, 1898.
3. Terry Copp, The Anatomy of Poverty (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1974).
4. Edmonton Bulletin (EB), December 30, 1897, June 27 and 30, 1898; AP February 3, 1898.
5. EB, February 7, 14, September 12, 22, 1898; AP, July 22, 1898.
6. EB, May 5 (advertisement for W. Bell Irving), June 16, 20 November 3, 1898; AP, February 3, 1898.
7. EB, May 2, ff., July 18, 25, August 29, September 22; AP, April 13, May 3, 11, 18, July 6, 1898. The term "Galician" was an anglicized term to describe the people of western Ukrainian stock who came mainly from an area called "Halychyna". See Zenon S. Pohorecky and Alexander Royick, "Anglicization of Ukrainian in Canada between 1895 and 1970: A Case Study of Linguistic Crystallization," Canadian Ethnic Studies, vol. 1, no. 2 (Dec., 1969), 144, 154-156.
8. AP, June 8, 22, July 29, December 23, 1898.
9. Information compiled from Henderson's Directory for the North-West Territories, 1898; Municipal census for Edmonton,

1898; EB and AP, many issues for 1898.

10. In 1901 Edmonton sported 8 manufacturing enterprises, likely (judging by the general Alberta pattern) mainly in food processing and building materials, employing 103. Strathcona had 5 such establishments employing 102. The total of 205 employees (no doubt including proprietors) divided by 13 establishments yields an average of 15 per factory, a sign of very little manufacturing development. Canada, Census, 1901, vol. 3, 341.

11. Though this observation may be modified by the fact that transients who may have been prominent would naturally not have been available for later biographical records. Appendix I, Tables A and B.

12. Appendix I, Table C.

13. Appendix I, Table D.

14. Appendix I, Table E.

15. Appendix I, Table F.

16. Appendix I, Tables G and H.

17. Appendix I, Table I.

18. Appendix I, Tables J and K.

19. Appendix I, Table L.

20. Appendix I, Table M.

Chapter 4: Economic Unity.

1897 was a year apparently much appreciated by Edmonton's businessmen and the area's farmers for "a splendid crop, a ready market for everything that the farm produced;" in short, the first fat year following several leaner ones. Yet in late 1897 and the first half of 1898 agriculture, the basis of Edmonton's future prosperity, was briefly overshadowed in the excitement of efforts to capitalize on the far distant Klondike gold rush.

South Edmonton's newspaper, the Alberta Plaindealer, sported a sub-heading dedication to two economic staples, not just one: "Devoted to the Farming and Mining Interests of Alberta." Though recently submerged, the second of these two local interests was widespread long before 1897. The Klondike gold rush of 1897-98 was in fact merely the fever pitch of North American western gold hunting stretching back to the 1840s. As the search moved ever northward, some of the searchers came through and sometimes back to Edmonton. Even the banks of the North Saskatchewan river in the vicinity of Edmonton had for years been studded with staked claims. But although numerous tributaries of the Yukon river had been tested already by hundreds of prospectors in early 1896, it was only after August, 1896 that Bonanza and Klondike Creeks were made commonplace terms by news of astronomically valuable strikes. Another winter went by before Edmontonians first heard of them in May, 1897.¹

In the latter half of 1897 special editions of the Edmonton Bulletin featured multi-page advertisements entitled

"To The Yukon: The All-Canadian Route," a reference really to two "routes". One was approximately 1,500 miles, mainly overland through Fort Assiniboine, Slave Lake Post, Peace River Landing, along the Nelson, Liard and Frances rivers to the Pelly River. The other, though estimated to be twice or more the distance of the first alternative, permitted a much greater proportion of river travel: overland from Edmonton to Athabasca Landing, then along the Athabasca River, Lake Athabasca, Great Slave River, Great Slave Lake, the Mackenzie and Peel rivers to where a portage would bring voyagers to the Porcupine River.

Edmontonians were not particular about which route enterprising visitors should choose. They placed emphasis on the superiority of either over the Pacific coast journey by contrasting an estimated overland cost of between \$425 and \$800 with the \$1,250 per person alleged to be necessary for the coastal sea route. The orientation of many Edmontonians was obvious: prospectors must be given incentive to travel through Edmonton, then shown the range of merchants who, "buying wholesale and bringing in by the car load can certainly lay down goods here much cheaper than the individual buying retail in the east (or in the United States) and paying way freight rates on the long distance to Edmonton." Every local establishment would be found first-class: flour and oatmeal mills, the pork packing house (the largest in Canada west of Winnipeg!), the creamery, the grocers and especially the wholesale outfitters, beginning with the Hudson's Bay Company's "unlimited resources" and continuing through individual enterprises dating from the end of the fur-trade era.²

The winter months were ideal for promoting gold rush business: they were the long months of agricultural dormancy. McDougall and Secord, general merchants, printed a special guide (John A. McDougall had, of course, just completed a term as Edmonton's mayor). The Hudson's Bay Company issued "a very neat and useful map and folder" of the favoured routes. Board of Trade Secretary W. G. Gairdner with civil engineer A. G. Harrison opened an information bureau and produced their own instructive pamphlet and map. The Edmonton Town Council was marvellously active, ordering and distributing abroad 2,000 reprints of the Bulletin special gold rush edition and 1,000 copies of a pamphlet about the Edmonton district compiled by Board of Trade Chairman Isaac Cowie. Council placed a two column advertisement in the Canadian Pacific Railway Carrier for three months beginning in February, cooperated with Montana cities in advertising, paid rail fares to agents "booming" the Edmonton route in the United States, presented travelling entertainers with "stereoptician slides" of Klondikers and Edmonton scenes for use in their "lime light exhibitions" elsewhere and placed a full page advertisement in the "Klondike Official Guide Book" compiled by W. Ogilvie for March publication. The Alberta Plaindealer followed the Bulletin example in March with its own special page describing routes from Edmonton to the Yukon.³ Even with respect to the overland concept there were competitors to be fought off: newspaper editorials in the first months of 1898 repeatedly skirmished with Saskatchewan newspapers over the relative merits of Edmonton and Prince Albert as starting points to the Yukon.

Expectations of a spring rush through Edmonton to dwarf the modest traffic of the previous fall were bolstered in the winter of 1897-98 by the number of inquiries and reports about Klondike expeditions from the east and the United States. A telegram arrived from Seattle in February, for example, wondering whether accommodation for 2,000 prospectors could be made available in the Edmontons to handle many adventurers already blocked from congested coast routes. In anticipation, freight and passenger facilities at the South Edmonton railway station were enlarged. A number of merchants agitated for and achieved late store closing regulations four evenings a week - on regular train nights and Saturday nights.⁴

The Pacific route continued, however, to be the favoured one among prospectors, thus engaging the greatest critical Edmonton press attention. Here a now familiar economic nationalism could play a convenient part - hence the emphasis on the "all-Canadian" aspect of the tortuous overland trip from Edmonton. The question was

whether Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg or Tacoma, Seattle and San Francisco do the trade of the Yukon now and in the future; whether the food supplies required shall be drawn from the Canadian West or the Pacific States; whether Canada shall or shall not be at liberty to go and come as she pleases in her own territory? Already there are said to be 30,000 people in the Puget Sound cities awaiting transportation to the Yukon. How much of the millions they have spent and are spending has been added to Canadian trade, although Canadian gold is their object? Are these abstract questions?... The 300 people who have taken the Edmonton routes since August last have spent in Canada not less than \$150,000, besides what was brought from the United States and England; and however much traffic by these routes may increase, Canadian trade will be benefitted in proportion.⁵

Needless to say, Edmonton merchants would gladly act as the

funnel for the anticipated all-Canadian profits. That was the clear message of the Bulletin's oft-repeated special Yukon gold rush issue. American pressure on Canada to allow U. S. miners 1,000 pounds of supplies into the Yukon duty free was therefore sternly to be resisted on the grounds, to be sure, that the traditional American high protective tariff and stringent alien labour policies militated in favour of the greatest loyalty to things British.⁶

The same spirit worked in other negative fashions. Something so far distant as the prospect of constructing a 150 mile Stikine - Lake Teslin railway line through northern British Columbia in response to the Yukon gold rush drew immediate condemnation by the Edmonton Board of Trade as a "crude, ill-devised and dangerous" proposal. Why? Not altogether because the charter was being secured by Mackenzie and Mann without the bother of having to compete with other tenders, and not even just because the rewards were judged inordinate: "3,750,000 acres of picked gold lands in the richest gold region in the world." Nor, claimed the Board of Trade, was it motivated by anything so crass as "sectional jealousy or a desire to boom the Edmonton route." No, the villains were south of the border: "Canada is not called upon to do anything for the benefit of American miners or American trade," which would allegedly be the only benefactors of a B. C. railway, even as they were the only benefactors of the Pacific gold rush traffic. The demise of the relevant federal bill and the ultimate breakdown of negotiations on the charter was therefore something over which Edmonton businessmen could chortle.⁷

Yet should Americans spend in Edmonton, that was an entirely different affair. Possibly the most admirable local celebration of all was then the Fourth of July display of flags, bands, fireworks and speeches. The local M.L.A., J. H. Ross, and the local M. P., Frank Oliver, "expressed pleasure at the presence of so many Americans aiding to develop the resources of the country" and "sympathy with the United States in the present [Spanish-American] war [in Cuba and the Phillipines], believing that the success of American arms meant the advancement of civilization and liberty." The Americans present were in the end reminded of the nationality of the profiting merchants only by the closing number played by the Edmonton band: "God Save the Queen."⁸

In early 1898 the commercial benefits of inviting American and any other prospectors through Edmonton seemed obvious enough. If not thousands, at least hundreds began the trip to the Yukon in the first half of the year. Though the majority did not persist along the entire route⁹, once they had made a start they had already passed the crucial point of exchanging their money for whatever required equipment and provisions they had not brought with them: in this sense the gold rush was briefly a great success for the Edmontons. Parties arrived in Edmonton from points south (especially by train from Calgary) by the twenties, thirties and even by the nineties on every train in March and April. Their temporary homes would be hotels, boarding rooms, shanties, up to sixty tents and teepees, while their gratifyingly single-minded activity was the loading of flat sleds, pack horses, or other conveyances with

locally purchased goods. Real estate was in heavy demand, not necessarily only for speculative purposes, but also to enable entrepreneurs to enlarge or build new business premises from which to take advantage of the expanding market. The business portion of the town pressed westward through the bush toward the Hudson's Bay Company post.¹⁰

Local specialists like South Edmonton Mills did a roaring business in staples like flour, oatmeal and grain for horses. The Edmonton and Athabasca Stage Company got the contract for 1898 from the (probably overloaded) Mackenzie River Navigation Company to transport passengers from South Edmonton to Athabasca Landing. Hay prices soared. R. B. Bisset had by mid-March already manufactured and sold some 300 pack saddles. Even the churches catered to a new demand, at least one church in evident expectation of its own benevolent profits on the Klondikers' return. The Methodist Rev. Joshua Dyke advertised a Sunday sermon about "The Manly Klondiker," the argument of which began rather confusingly, "that the best things in this world are intended for the manly man and the womanly woman," but continued that "God Almighty who placed the gold in the mountains, through the valley and along the rivers desires that its attainment shall elevate and not degrade humanity." Thus, the message: "Let your charity not only express itself in the far north, but when you have made your pile, remember the benevolent institutions at home."¹¹

The profits of the many are aptly proven by the willingness of a few to participate in the most illusory ventures. Henry D. Smith invested "considerable sums of money" in the

"Saskatchewan Metal Extracting Works: promoted by one W. H. Roughsedge.

I advanced to him considerable sums of money, and have put up all money expended on the works, and all that has been paid out for black sand (that Mr. Roughsedge purchased after he had sampled and was supposed to have assayed) on the distinct understanding and repeated assurance by Mr. Roughsedge that he had a secret process by which he could extract gold and any other precious metals in large and paying quantities from the said sand, after all that was possible had been taken out by the miners....

Nothing whatever, unfortunately, was attempted, let alone successfully completed, at the "Works".¹²

By May the rush, Edmonton version, had perceptibly slowed; by the summer's end even the Bulletin acknowledged that all moderately rich claims in the Yukon were long since fully occupied. The long term effect of the Klondike rush on Edmonton may have been to focus the attention of a growing tide of agricultural settlers on the surrounding district, where in 1898 good homestead land could still apparently be obtained forty miles or more from the town, while three dollars per acre would purchase closer Canadian Pacific Railway property.¹³ By mid-April, a different kind of rush was well underway, 325 or more permanent settlers arriving in one three-week period, necessitating much more accommodation than the South Edmonton immigration depot could provide. In excess of 1,000 immigrants had arrived to settle in the district in 1897, half from the Austrian province of Galicia, one-third from the United States (mainly ex-Canadians or Europeans in transit) and one-tenth from Russia. These figures were to be dwarfed by the 1898 record, indicating a new rush through Edmonton to exploit a more

enduring resource than gold: land.¹⁴

The response of Edmontonians to agricultural immigrants, as to the gold seekers, was influenced by their anticipation of the ability of the newcomers to spend locally. Particularly promising were such spectacles as the excursion through Edmonton of some 170 Wisconsin and Michigan press representatives conducted by a member of the Canadian Immigration Department's press section. By way of contrast, the arrival of "Galicians" by the hundreds brought sharp press criticism. The first large group of 493 in May was said to have \$18,000 among them, a sum small enough for the Plaindealer to make "comment [briefly] unnecessary." The Bulletin was even more oblique: "Immigration Agent Sutter states that they are the best class of Galicians that have arrived here yet. Between them [sic] they have 241 pieces of baggage." Reports of 1,500 Galicians to follow burst this nice reserve like a spike. "Is this fair land to be given to the off scourings of humanity?" The local Liberal M. P., Frank Oliver, argued in the House of Commons that the Austrian government was getting rid of its most destitute burdens, who would in western Canada require wage labour employment (which would not be sufficiently available) or starve. Most alarming of all to one journalist, "white settlers" on their way to being comfortably ensconced in new permanent houses would surely prepare to leave rather than face life "in the midst of these filthy and untutored beings."¹⁵ Whatever happened to the Galicians, displacement of their richer predecessors was an unendurable prospect to established Edmontonians.

Actually there was little sign through the remainder of 1898 that there would be an end to the unprecedented prosperity. If "the ranks of objectionable immigrants in this district" were regularly swelled with carloads of "Galicians", entrepreneurs could even be found who were happy about that. An agent of a Crow's Nest Railway contractor found them a good reservoir of destitute and desperate labourers easily enticed to leave their families for a season of work on mountain railway construction. The alien immigrants in the city during the winter of 1898-99 provided the single (though considerable) visible reproach to those enjoying their good fortune. Many experienced hardship serious enough to cause them to beg a few provisions from government offices. Here was apparent evidence, of a hard, practical variety, that immigration policy of the day was wrong for all concerned.¹⁶

Expanding numbers were for Edmonton's leadership the sure proof of progress. The 627 homestead entries processed at the Dominion land office before the end of August caused unbounded delight. A third bank (the Merchant's bank) supplemented the established Imperial and Jacques Cartier branches. Dealers in agricultural machinery reported double or more the sales of the preceding year, which had itself been blessed by good crops. For Board of Trade President C. Gallagher, summing up 1898 involved only one dismal number, and even it reflected the kind of neglect caused by inordinate individual reward: he had to deplore the meagre Board of Trade membership figure of twenty-five.¹⁷

Hugely increased numbers, of course, allowed the more

than 1,000 inhabitants of South Edmonton to inflate the importance of their own separate community against that of Edmonton, despite the latter's population advantage. When tenders were called for the construction of the bridge superstructure over the North Saskatchewan river, the threat of greater economic unity for the Edmontons sparked immediate resistance in South Edmonton. According to the Plaindealer's illogical though nonetheless heartfelt argument,

There are two trade centres in this electoral district. One is Edmonton, the other is South Edmonton. It has been said that their interests are identical and to a certain extent that is true, but it is a fact that for trading purposes the country tributary to one is entirely different to [sic] the country tributary to the other. The farmers north of the river truly come to South Edmonton to market their grain, but they go back to Edmonton to trade, and on the other hand farmers south of the river seldom go north to trade.¹⁸

To observers anywhere but in South Edmonton, these patterns must surely have suggested, once the bridge was completed, increased interrelationship and sharing of currently separated special services. The Edmontons would be economically a unit.

Of one thing all were certain. The immediate economic future of the Edmontons, despite the brief impetus of the gold rush, would be tied to agriculture. The fall's exceptionally productive grain harvest bolstered claims for the superiority of "northern" (actually central) Alberta over Southern Alberta as a grain growing region while quelling remaining harsh images of the more northerly climate. The Bulletin's year end satisfaction with 1898 omitted any mention of the illusory gold rush in favour of forthright delight with the prospects of agriculture as the staple economic base of Edmonton's future.¹⁹

Footnotes

1. Edmonton Bulletin (EB), December 23, 1897; Alberta Plain-dealer (AP), December 30, 1897; J. G. MacGregor, The Klondike Rush Through Edmonton 1897-1898 (Toronto/Montreal, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1970), 7-21.
2. EB, Dec. 16, 1897; MacGregor, The Klondike Rush, 22-31, 38-43.
3. EB, January 6, 20, 31, February 14, 28, March 3, 10; AP, March 16; MacGregor, The Klondike Rush, 38.
4. AP, February 3, 10, 17, 1897.
5. EB, January 6, 1898.
6. AP, March 16, 1898.
7. AP, February 10 and June 15, 1898; EB, March 7, 1898.
8. EB, July 7, 1898.
9. For estimates of the number making a start and those carrying through, see MacGregor, The Klondike Rush, 87, 233-36; EB, March 3, April 4, May 19, June 16, June 23, 1898. MacGregor's optimistic calculation is that about 1,500 began from Edmonton in 1897-98 and over 700 made the entire journey, though almost all were too late.
10. EB, March 3, April 14, May 19, 1898; AP, May 18, 1898.
11. AP, March 3 and 16, 1898; EB, January 27, February 10, 1898.
12. AP, April 20, 1898. On the widespread Edmonton belief that quantities of gold were in the black North Saskatchewan River sand, see J. R. Schrumm, "Valley of Gold," Alberta Historical Review, vol. 22, no. 4 (Autumn, 1974), 14-25.
13. EB, February 28, May 19, October 24 and 27, 1898; AP, August 5, 1898; MacGregor, The Klondike Rush, 251.
14. EB, January 13 (information from C. W. Sutter, Immigration Agent), April 11 and 14, 1898; AP, May 3, 1898.
15. AP, May 3 and 18, 1898; EB, May 7, July 25, 1898; Canada, Journals of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada (1898), Appendix 3, Report of the Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization, 229, 231.
16. AP, June 8, July 6 and 13, December 23, 1898.
17. EB, July 7, September 8, December 26, 1898; AP, December 30, 1898.

18. AP, August 26, September 16 and November 18, 1898.
19. EB, January 2, 1899.

Chapter 5: Formal Municipal Organization.

The premier urban institution dedicated to civic unity must of course be the elected municipal council, but it operated in the Edmonton of 1898 with considerable help from key voluntary organizations whose objectives reflected a collective urban will or promoted the collective urban welfare. In 1898 Edmonton's Council was not concerned with the entire range of problems later believed to require corporate action. It was not even the agency promoting growth in the city: the Board of Trade was expected to do that. And matters of human welfare among the less fortunate in the city were certainly left to the charge of volunteers, most notably in the Women's Hospital Aid Society.

Formal municipal organization was in fact not very substantial. South Edmonton would not even be incorporated (with the new name, Strathcona) until 1899. Edmonton, with its earlier population growth, became a town in 1892; but in neither case was the ultimate cause of incorporation popular pressure about common service problems so much as it was the arrival of the Calgary-Edmonton Railway in the rival's centre. One of the disadvantages for Edmonton's town Council was its visibility and accessibility: the complaints of individual citizens about matters councillors were not very eager to deal with had often to be sidetracked. Early in 1898 the most persistent and embarrassing representations came from the Women's Christian Temperance Union and like-minded individuals who sought the removal of houses of ill-repute offering the services of prostitutes. When reference to the federal jurisdic-

tion and the vague civic bylaw on the subject did not quieten petitioners, Council turned to the tactic of relegating the controversy to the oblivion of a committee for study.¹

The rather mundane business of providing basic services was in the circumstances conducted with the aid of quite a primitive municipal organization. Very few officials assisted in handling civic affairs: a town clerk (who, in his correspondence, also became town booster to interested outside entrepreneurs),² legal and financial counsels, town constable and police officers, medical health officer, "town scavenger" and civic poundkeeper. Provisions for hospital and fire fighting services were left to voluntary organizations, although they would, it is true, seek some of their operating funds from Council. In the main, though, the town Council served to respond to common environmental problems, to pursue and display residents' common objectives with corporate strength and to provide the forum for rival aspirations to civic leadership.

A distinct air of reluctance characterized the way Council groped for solutions only after the firm implantation of problems. Sanitation is a good example. In March, Methodist clergyman Joshua Dyke complained of the need for a well-organized spring cleaning, especially because of the year's extraordinary influx of transient people and horses: in all, he thought, prime pre-conditions for disease epidemics. Whether or not because of this specific expression of concern, the medical health officer was shortly instructed to speed the removal of refuse from town corrals and to report on the sanitary conditions of such food dispensaries as butcher shops.

But of course the immigration was in March only beginning. In April Council solicited applications for the position of town scavenger. Dr. Braithwaite's report recommended constructing a sewage drainage system and charging property owners for property clean-up conducted by town officers because of the lack of private initiative.

A drainage system to overcome the difficulty posed by the high river banks proved temporarily impossible to find. For the time being this and all other difficulties with waste remained frustrating. Anti-garbage dumping ordinances were issued and posted, and the town constable was ordered "to see that all premises are cleared of waste material and inflammable matter." The problem of filth had come to be a full-fledged regular aspect of Council deliberations. At the end of the year, in an indication of the expansion of the refuse, the medical health officer found it necessary to recommend the establishment of a new nuisance ground.³ It looked as though Council would never catch up with increasing requirements in waste disposal.

The burgeoning town's preoccupation with simple environmental difficulties is easy to illustrate. There were frequent stories of runaway horse teams on both Edmonton and South Edmonton streets. A civic poundkeeper had to be appointed in Edmonton in April. Streets, especially main streets, regularly filled with irritating small stones. Dirt-surfaced residential streets, especially in a town of Edmonton's temperature extremes, constantly required grading.⁴

Problems originally small in magnitude were exacer-

bated by Council's apparent propensity for half measures. The "fire, water, and light" committee was noted for its failures. Water was still being provided in the waterman's cart or in the water barrel which constituted the public drinking fountain; plans for a water works system progressed only to the stage of investigating inducements which might be offered to potential contractors. Lights were placed only individually in scattered locations, as, for example, at both terminals of the river ferry. The volunteer fire brigade had only primitive equipment: if the "steamer" (supplying water) and the "chemical" proved inadequate, the only resource was a waterman's cart.

Prominent citizen and ex-mayor Matt McCauley lost his livery and feed stable and T. P. Cairney his blacksmith shop to fire in August. The fire prevention system on this occasion was an embarrassment, the hose of the "chemical" bursting and leaking in several places while it proved to take some time after the exhaustion of the chemical effort to initiate the steam process. The fire brigades asked Edmontonians to believe that chemical leaks did not impede efficiency, and that steam pressure would always require time to develop from cold water. It was not long, nevertheless, before the brigade undertook a special practice session, though it caused little if any improvement in fire suppression. In September a frame building housing Armstrong Bros. grocery store and the residence and warehouse of building owner G. Hutton burned to the ground. Such catastrophes still did not convince Edmonton property owners of the efficiency of the only alternative

presented. The offer of a new fire protection system came in May from the private enterprise known as the "Waterous Company" and was rejected.⁵ At least a public, voluntary system's costs could presumably be controlled.

Environment and property: to such concerns did Council address its attentions. Social assistance was simply not considered a municipal responsibility; people looked after themselves. Where they did not, voluntary or private agencies might step in: the Edmonton Hospital Aid Society to help the needy obtain required hospital care - with a limited Council grant; the "Edmonton Employment Office" for labourers and domestic servants seeking work.⁶ Only in situations in which everyone, regardless of social standing, was likely to be affected, did Council deal with people. The medical health officer's principal concern, for example, was the possibility and prevention of epidemic disease. The chairman of the "board of works" was authorized by municipal by-law to "inspect and secure" buildings used for "public amusements or assembly." The new covered skating rink, for one, had to be inspected and improved to meet structural safety standards.⁷

Education, another universal or near-universal service, at least to the point of literacy, was not supervised by town Council, but by two other representative bodies, the public and separate (Catholic) school boards within the framework of their Territorial organizations. Children enrolled in the Edmonton Public School (119 in January, 289 by November) would ideally be offered by the half dozen or so teachers only pure and unvarnished academic instruction; most other developmental

matters, according to Territorial School Superintendent D. J. Goggin, were the parents' own responsibilities. For Goggin, these could be enumerated: clothing, neatness, cleanliness, punctuality, manners, citizenship, the value of money, and religion. Parents were also expected by Goggin to maintain vigilance over the school's physical condition and support teachers' discipline.⁸ The teacher specialists paid from public funds were obviously meant to supply only the one service to children that parents presumably could not: a proper, standardized academic training. Urban, if not Territorial, homogeneity went together with a certain minimal standard of learning.

Staged community festivities were also objects of official interest. The extent of Council's participation in the planning demonstrates acceptance of the power of these to engender civic unity. Arrangements for Dominion Day celebrations were initiated in late May. Two hundred dollars was granted to organize spectator entertainment by band music, track and field competitions, horse and bicycle racing and team sports. Council evidently purchased and maintained the instruments for the civic band which performed at such functions. Covering two days, the spectacle apparently attracted some 4,000 onlookers.⁹

There were reasons for public displays of civic unanimity. In 1898 one of the basic divisions in the ranks of Edmonton businessmen, and even the populace in general, became a public controversy in connection with an effort to provide one more public service: a civic market square. The issue,

which had been aired for some years already, appeared on the surface to be the relative merits of two potential sites, one of which the city might purchase for the market square location. In fact, however, there was much more to it than that - though property and commercial advantage were indeed the elements arousing the passions.

The first offer was made in September by real estate agent P. Heiminck: 56 feet of Jasper Avenue frontage for a price of \$12,000. Two supporters on Council, Joseph Henry Picard and Walter Humberstone, moved Council offer \$11,000, but the majority favoured dropping the offer to \$8,000, which Heiminck declined to accept. Picard and Humberstone felt obliged to explain themselves in a letter to the Bulletin editor, pointing out the several years' standing of the market square problem and the "central" location Heiminck's property would have. Besides, any Council purchase order would be subject to rate-payers' approval.¹⁰

In November, St. George Jellett offered a number of adjoining lots somewhat to the east of Heiminck's property for a total price of just over \$4,500, the offer slightly marred by the necessity to negotiate expropriation of an impinging lot from another party not at that time available. Picard and Thomas Hourston immediately moved to file the offer on the argument that the property's much smaller size was insufficient for a market site, but their motion was lost in favour of one appointing a three-councillor committee of investigation. A subsequent special Council meeting adopted the committee's report recommending acceptance of Jellett's offer, James Ross,

K. A. McLeod and A. E. Jackson for, Picard and Humberstone against. Even as a proposed market site by-law (to borrow \$4,500 to purchase Jellett's offered lots) was submitted to Edmonton voters, Picard announced his resignation from Council in protest. He alleged the decision was reached by "railroad" procedure without debate. Heiminck contended that size limitations on Jellett's lots would hamper expansion, for surrounding property would be costly. Picard introduced a third possibility (besides Heiminck's and Jellett's) which had apparently been available: a middle-sized property from Humberstone. Even it, Picard pointed out, had three times the space of the Jellett property at the cost of \$1,000 less. If Heiminck's property (twice the size of Humberstone's) was not to be bought, then Humberstone's, not Jellett's was the only alternative worth considering.¹¹

Later a town meeting called mainly to discuss the issue revealed that the property offered through Humberstone had actually come from Heiminck. This could not obscure Picard's protest that the cost per acre of Jellett's land would be three times that of Heiminck's original (largest) property. At this point, in early December, another heated exchange intervened, between Picard and Mayor Edmiston, on the subject of a different property purchase negotiation. By the time the market by-law came to the voting test, divisions were vividly clear. Only male owners of property valued in excess of \$400 were allowed to vote, severely limiting the electorate, probably to about 150. Of these especially interested prosperous citizens, a good majority voted for the acquisition

from Jellett, but the necessary two-thirds majority was not obtained, thus defeating the measure.¹²

What caused the division? Was it simply a matter of rival entrepreneurs seeking personal advantage? Not likely, according to developments in the municipal elections which followed immediately. Picard, with John A. McDougall, nominated Cornelius Gallagher for the mayoralty. In opposition, the group opposed to Picard et al in the market site debate (in this case K. A. McLeod, A. Taylor and James Ross) nominated incumbent W. S. Edmiston. Judging by the list of Council nominees and their sponsors in relation to their market site issue alignments, one might guess that an unofficial Edmiston aldermanic slate consisted of A. Brown, A. E. Jackson, K. A. McLeod, James Ross and R. Hockley; the Gallagher slate of N. White, Richard Secord, J. H. Picard, Thomas Hourston and P. Heiminck. Neither K. W. MacKenzie's nor J. D. Clarke's nominations gave easy hints of one allegiance or the other, but Clarke, in any case, withdrew his nomination before the election. Edmiston defeated Gallagher handily, by nearly a two to one margin; McLeod, MacKenzie and Jackson topped the councillors' polls, receiving two years terms of office; and Picard, Brown and Secord won one-year mandates. That would, if the previous guesses are correct, give Edmiston at least three council supporters against at least two detractors.¹³

The editor of the Edmonton Bulletin offered an analysis both before and after the election which linked the election campaign with the market site controversy. Particularly in the mayoralty contest, he suggested, "the same forces were

arrayed against each other" as in the market by-law campaign, in which the real issue had been to use the market site to establish either a western or an eastern focus for Edmonton's centre of business. While there were not enough easterners to muster the necessary two-thirds majority to pass the market by-law there were plenty to ensure Edmiston's mayoral victory. Property values and potential profits were undoubtedly at the core of the matter, but not with respect to the potential market lots alone. The larger struggle was an example of significant strain on municipal unity, a test of the formal institutions designed to contain and resolve its like. Given the basic nature of the market site dispute, it could not long remain dormant. The first Council meeting following the elections was presented with an offer by Heiminck and two partners of nine lots on Queen, Rice and Elizabeth streets for a \$3,900 price.¹⁴ Once more the disagreement passed into a new year.

Edmonton town Council was a representative institution devoted to the goal of cooperation to tackle common problems of environment, property, protection and civic promotion. The last, as we have already seen, was in 1898 easily understood: a matter of taking the fullest advantage of the gold and land rushes through Edmonton. The first two were perplexing in the extreme, great success proving temporarily elusive. Finally, there was, in the prosperous general atmosphere, room for internal bickering in attempts to secure special economic advantages within the town.

Although leading South Edmontonians began in 1898 to consider incorporation specifically in reaction to the news

that a railway connection was certain to cross the river to the north side and raise Edmonton's "ambitions to dwarf South Edmonton," other practical reasons for corporate organization on the south side were by this time easy to recite. Public health and sanitation might be regulated in ongoing programs. The problem of a "nuisance ground" originally placed too close to the residential centre for either public health or odour-free air, would be swiftly dealt with and subsequently kept under control. With incorporation efficient fire protection could be organized, "disgraceful" sidewalks on the main business streets cleaned and improved (so as to cease driving away interested investors) and an aspect of confidence in the community's prospects shown to the world.¹⁵

As it was, spring cleaning was left to volunteers and waste disposal was regulated only to the extent that the South Edmonton constable would make good his threat of legal prosecution if "manure heaps and other nuisances" were not removed from private properties by prescribed deadlines.¹⁶ The local Territorial Statute Labour Overseer, Lawrence Garneau, made his summer project for 1898 the "renewal" of Whyte Avenue, South Edmonton's main street. Robert McKernan eventually gave his permission for residents to use an enclosed corner of his nearby farm as a suitably distant location for the dumping of manure. But when special difficulties arose which were not taken in hand by volunteers in this unusual, Klondike-mad year, there was little to do save vent one's petulant anger. "A constable for night duty is badly needed in South Edmonton," wrote the Plaindealer's editor, "to keep in subjection the

drunken rabble who infest the streets and make the night hideous with their yelling, howling and fighting." With respect to a different type of population altogether, there were also "too many curs of low degree" rending the night peace with howling and scrapping, most without the benefit of any lawful guardians.¹⁷ There was no local representative body to respond to such complaints.

The general apprehension over the effect of a railway connection with Edmonton was strengthened by the results of the November election to the Territorial Legislative Assembly. The first, mid-October public meeting to open the campaign revealed three candidates, south-sider Alexander C. Rutherford, and Edmontonians Matthew McCauley (the incumbent) and H. H. Robertson. The first two were from the start the principal antagonists. Rutherford's nomination was filed by South Edmontonians; McCauley's and Robertson's by Edmontonians.¹⁸

That the contest was to be determined purely by the river division of the population was soon amply demonstrated. A rather uncontrolled poll taken at an Edmonton Catholic ladies' bazaar revealed the local favourites: McCauley's 750 votes and Robertson's 516 contrasted sharply with Rutherford's 138. On the other hand, Plaindealer editorials attacked McCauley's candidacy chiefly by plundering old Regina Leader reports for examples of gaffes in his past legislative speeches. Since Rutherford's chief asset was his identification with South Edmonton, the Plaindealer was forced to ignore his recent arrival (1895) in favour of describing his diversity of local interests: as farmer, land investor, gold mine investor and

lawyer, he had a hand in all the local resources, whose other investors he would presumably be well able to represent.¹⁹

The final vote by accredited male voters conformed to the predictable pattern: 582 for McCauley, 498 for Rutherford and only 112 for Robertson, the allegiances divided by the river. The riding took in more than simply Edmonton and South Edmonton, but the river division worked for outside areas as well. For Stony Plain, Edmonton and Beaver Lake together, the results showed 509 votes for McCauley, 97 for Robertson and a mere 50 for Rutherford. In contrast, Clover Bar, South Edmonton, Mill Creek and White Mud nearly tipped the balance in Rutherford's favour, giving 444 votes to him and only 68 and 14 to McCauley and Robertson respectively. "The result," sniffed the Plaindealer, "but demonstrates what we have asserted time and again that the district should be divided by the river."²⁰ The disadvantage of South Edmonton aspirants to the legislature, this election seemed to indicate, was that their supporters would always be outnumbered by those of their north side competitors.

Although only half as populous as Edmonton, South Edmonton included more than 1,000 residents in 1898, another apparent justification - sufficient size - for incorporation. On November 18 the Plaindealer elucidated the various natural economic and political cleavages which were alleged to warrant separate incorporation from Edmonton. That very evening Postmaster Wilson

received notices from the Commissioner of Public Works in Regina, for posting in conspicuous places in South Edmonton, to the effect that unless a petition of

objection, signed by two-thirds of the voters of the place were received within 30 days after November 20th, 1898, South Edmonton would be proclaimed a village by the Lieutenant Governor in Council under the Village Ordinance of the North West Territories with the name of the post-office in its limits.²¹

Apparently on the verge of realizing their ambitions, South Edmonton businessmen were still dissatisfied. A public meeting of about 150 "of the largest property holders in town" (or, in other words, virtually all ratepayers) took place November 22 in Ross Hall. The debate, with A. C. Rutherford in the chair, pitted a distinct minority disclaiming incorporation against an eager majority favouring it. Thomas Anderson "instanced the town of Edmonton with its debt of over \$100,000 as an example of an overtaxed community as a direct result of premature incorporation," but the majority agreed with Robert Ritchie, who argued for a show of civic confidence by a bold step to incorporate, not as a village with its virtual one-man control, but as a town instead. The result was the circulation of a petition against village incorporation, with the understanding that a campaign would begin for town incorporation. A committee of five was elected to report to a second meeting detailed proposals for area boundaries and names. Thus began the drive which would culminate in 1899 with the creation of the town of Strathcona despite the continued opposition of Anderson and others who attempted to kill it with a counter-petition against the measure.²²

Here then was the formal basis for a "struggle" within greater Edmonton which was somewhat similar to that between "eastward" and "westward" leaning Edmonton businessmen north

of the river. With future economic prospects brighter than ever they had been, the leading northern and southern occupants of what was essentially a single urban community could afford to divert themselves temporarily with a contest to determine which would have the major business centre. The separate incorporation of Strathcona in 1899 ensured this issue would be rather longer lasting than was the Edmonton market square argument but even it could be peacefully resolved by 1912. Ironically, the institution created specifically to press for South Edmonton primacy was the very one which ultimately would permit an orderly capitulation once the "battle" proved hopelessly lost. Meanwhile incorporation allowed South Edmonton leaders an honest lunge at their ambitions without the subterfuge suspected in the other, market square controversy.

Interestingly, the opportunity to express cross-river rivalry in terms of traditional Canadian political alignments was not exploited. It is undoubtedly true that of the two parties represented locally, the Liberal and the Liberal-Conservative, the former dominated. The Liberals had newspaper support from the highly partisan Bulletin, whose publisher to 1898, Frank Oliver, was the Member of Parliament for the area, while the Conservatives had been unsuccessful since 1892 in efforts to create and maintain an opposing organ.²³ The Edmonton Liberal Association executive committee of ten did meet quarterly, and special urgent meetings to discuss "important questions of state" did occur. Yet the legislative election discussed earlier did not clearly oppose Liberal against Conservative. The two leading contenders appear both to have been

more or less Liberals, even though their support was divided along local geographical lines. The Conservative candidate, H. H. Robertson, finished far behind. In fact, the purpose of a visit by Conservative M. P. Nicholas Flood Davin in November was apparently to revitalize conservative party organization. The admittedly hostile Bulletin reported as a "reorganization" meeting the one which elected the indefatigable Cornelius Gallagher president.²⁴ These party lines were most evident only when federal elections occurred every four years or so.

The two voluntary institutions in which Edmonton area businessmen participated earnestly would again seem on the surface to have been divided by the river, but each proves on closer examination to have represented both sides. The South Edmonton Agricultural Society was of course dedicated to exploitation by local farmers and businessmen alike of the area's greatest natural resource. The membership early in 1898 was over 150, including South Edmontonians, Edmontonians and area farmers, an impressive total in contrast to the Edmonton Board of Trade's 25 or so. The Agricultural Society boasted 17 directors alone, besides 4 executive officers.

Whatever its impact on the economy of the region, the Society also provided several community recreational services to the Edmontons. The South Edmonton Agricultural Society grounds, scene of many formally organized picnics and other summer festivities, including that for the Edmonton area at large on May 24, required maintenance. In this small, intimate community so dedicated to the Society's welfare, small financial crises could be handled in a flash informally. "President

McKernan...took a run around town yesterday to secure funds by private contribution to sink a well on the fair grounds. In a few minutes he had more than enough." Even other methods of raising money for desired improvements were recreationally pleasant for South Edmontonians. The construction of stands on the Society's grounds was made possible by such events as the spring "Calico Ball and Box Social".²⁵

The major event of the year for which the Society was responsible was the South Edmonton Agricultural Fair, in 1898 held on October 4 and 5. Many of the activities were, as for May 24 and July 1 celebrations, standard athletic and horse racing spectacles, but the focus of the fair was on the exhibitions of agricultural produce and stock. It was considered sufficiently important to be attended by special guests: North West Territories Premier Frederick Haultain and Public Works Commissioner J. H. Ross. The Fair was no ordinary local holiday celebration, then, but the means by which the whole Edmonton area celebrated its agricultural fortune together and advertised it to the rest of the prairie west. Planning for the annual event began as early as February.²⁶

In reverse, there were organizations technically designated by the term, "Edmonton," which in reality included members and interests of the South Side. South Edmonton had, for example, no Board of Trade. That standard North American institution was represented in the area solely by the Edmonton Board of Trade. The basic purpose of this occupation - oriented businessmen's association was to promote the requirements of the area's multifarious business interests, insofar as they

coincided. This might mean sponsoring petitions to the federal government: to stop the projected Stikine-Teslin railway in B. C. in favour of developing transportation to the north from the Edmontons, or for vastly improved mail service. It might mean advertising the Edmonton route to the Klondike among prospectors unable to get out of Seattle or Vancouver because of the crush of expectant gold seekers. It might mean honouring a local politician, M. P. Frank Oliver, for his efforts on the Edmonton area's behalf, with a lavish formal banquet and public demonstration. Board of Trade organizers managed to bring together leading local figures of the town Council, the Legislative Assembly, the Edmonton and South Edmonton Liberal Associations, the South Edmonton Agricultural Society and several other organizations for this tribute. A public holiday was proclaimed and the brass bands of Edmonton and South Edmonton contributed.²⁷ Oliver's well-publicized speeches across the country and in the House of Commons on the value of assisting Edmonton's drive to become the gateway to the north gave Edmonton exactly the kind of exposure for which the Board of Trade strove.

That prosperity was so marked, prospects so auspicious in 1898, may explain the small membership in the Board. A nagging worry about membership totals and numbers actively participating persisted among the executive members from the beginning to the end of the year. President Isaac Cowie at the beginning of the year, in his retiring address, urged the membership not to leave all the work to a few. At the same time a membership drive was a prime item of Board business. At the

end of the year it was obvious that few new members had been attracted.²⁸ But then, in a year when everything seemed to go right, there was little need for strenuous Board of Trade exertion.

There were of course individual Edmontonians for whom everything did not go right and whose personal troubles were cared for neither by the Board nor by the Agricultural Society. Into this breach stepped the Edmonton Hospital Aid Society, announcing the contribution of women to the larger community while also performing a social welfare function not yet acknowledged in the responsibilities of the town Council. The Hospital Aid Society is intriguing for being the closest equivalent for women to the all-male town Council. To be sure, the Hospital Aid Society's nine-member board of management represented not Edmontonians nor Edmonton women at large, but only the volunteers who joined the Society. On the other hand, the whole community was served by its activities, and the 1898 Board composition was clearly an equivalent in economic and social position to the town Council. President was Mrs. E. A. Braithwaite, whose husband was a medical doctor and city health officer. Vice-president Mrs. Lauder may have been the wife of T. G. Lauder of the "Old Scotch Bakery". Treasurer Miss LaRue was most likely related to the family of Stanislas LaRue, who, with J. H. Picard, had cooperated in a prominent general store and other enterprises. The Secretary's husband was N. D. Beck, lawyer, crown prosecutor and Edmonton town solicitor. Mrs. H. C. Taylor's husband was a well-established lawyer. W. B.

Stennett, probably the husband of the "Mrs. Stennett" listed on the Board, was an independent fur trader. Mrs. Graydon's husband George H. operated a drugstore. Mrs. Gallagher's husband Cornelius, the proprietor of the Alberta Meat and Packing House, was President of the Board of Trade and would run unsuccessfully for the mayoralty in late 1898.²⁹ The husbands of these women were involved in the commerce, professions and municipal organization of the town.

The Society met monthly to plan its principal task, to earn money to support Edmonton's hospital service. The annual \$1.00 membership fee underlined its aims. The General Hospital supported by the Society was staffed by Catholic nursing Sisters of Charity of Ville Marie ("Grey Nuns"). It was not a municipally funded hospital and therefore depended upon donations of merchandise, services or money. The Society, in addition to raising money itself, kept the needs of the Hospital in the public eye to elicit such contributions. The division of proceeds from a winter Hospital Aid Society charity ball illustrates the basic uses made of the money they raised: \$200 for bedding and night clothes, \$100 for coal and \$100 for food. The "Young Ladies" auxiliary of the Society usually raised smaller sums by means of skating carnivals and the like. One of their \$50 contributions went for a sterilizer for doctors' instruments and medicine for the poor.³⁰

The poor received special benefits from the Hospital Aid exertions. Whether or not they were altogether adequate, the attentions the Society directed to the medical needs of the poor were unique in the Edmontons of 1898. The hospital

obviously did not cater to those well enough off to be able to afford private medical care at home. Fewer than 20% of the hospital patients were, as a rule, self-sufficient enough to pay for their treatment. Over half were usually "pauper patients" who were able to pay none of the costs. The remainder paid one-half their costs. Most patients were, therefore, being treated not only for health ailments but also for some degree of poverty. From this point of view it must have seemed graceless in the extreme for the Plaindealer to criticize the hospital's operation for inadequate accommodation and food, especially if the allegation was untrue.³¹

The question of whether the corporate arrangements of Edmonton and Strathcona were adequate would become increasingly insistent in the next few years. 1898 appears to have been a transitional year in municipal administration, a year in which reluctance to plunge into the collective approach to urban development was only gradually being overcome. That was one sign that the experience of village intimacy was about to end, to be replaced by another North American urban embryo.

Footnotes

1. Edmonton Bulletin (EB), January 3, 10, February 14, 21, March 10, 1898.
2. Letterbook of the Edmonton Town Clerk, 1897-9, contains several letters boosting the town: Edmonton City Archives. See, for example, A. G. Randall to A. B. Campbell, Kingston, January 31, 1898.
3. EB, March 10, 24, April 11, 21, May 19, September 22, December 29, 1898.

4. EB, April 21, May 19, June 2, 1898.
5. EB, March 24, April 14, 21, June 2, August 8, 11, 15, September 26, 1898.
6. EB, July 11, November 17, 1898.
7. EB, November 17, December 29, 1898.
8. EB, January 17, May 19, November 3, December 8, 15, 1898.
9. EB, May 26, 30, June 2, 13, 16, 27, July 4, 1898.
10. EB, September 29 and October 6, 1898.
11. EB, November 3, 10, 17, 1898.
12. EB, November 28, December 1, 5, 8, 1898.
13. EB, December 5, 12, 1898.
14. EB, December 8, 15, 1898.
15. Alberta Plaindealer (AP), May 11, June 8, 1898.
16. AP, April 13, 20, 1898.
17. AP, July 29, August 5, 1898.
18. EB, October 17, 31, 1898.
19. AP, October 21, 28, 1898. Edmonton's French speaking community was aware of another issue, but it was carried by Edmontonian Frederic Villeneuve into the St. Albert arena. This was the matter of French Catholic rights in the organization of Territorial education, considered of sufficient importance by St. Albert's French speaking population to elect outsider Villeneuve over his local, but Anglophone, rival. See E. J. Hart, "The History of the French-Speaking Community of Edmonton, 1795-1935" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1971), 47-51.
20. EB, November 10, 1898; AP, November 11, 1898.
21. AP, November 18, 25, 1898.
22. AP, November 25, December 2, 16, 1898. The campaign for town status for Strathcona is described in greater detail in John F. Gilpin, "The City of Strathcona 1891-1912" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1978), 58-64.
23. Correspondence, John C. F. Bown Papers, File 204, Glenbow-Alberta Institute Archives, Calgary.
24. EB, February 10, November 17, 25, December 1, 8, 1898.

25. AP, February 24, March 16, 1898; EB, June 9, 1898.
26. AP, February 24, September 9, 16, 1898; EB, October 6, 1898.
27. AP, February 24, 1898; EB, March 7, June 6, 13, 20, 27, 1898.
28. EB, April 4, December 26, 1898.
29. EB, January 24, 1898.
30. EB, January 27, March 28, May 16, 1898.
31. EB, January 24, March 28, May 2, 5, 1898; AP, April 20, 1898.

Chapter 6: Voluntary Associations.

Direct involvement in the interlocking mesh of the town was accessible in Edmonton and Strathcona, other than in the economic sense, by participation in one or more of the considerable number of societies and churches. When the organizations of the churches are added to the other clubs available in 1898, the result is a marvellous assortment for so small a population. Granting the probability that many belonged to two, three or more associations; the conclusion must be such that cohesiveness enhanced the intimacy of day to day relations in the small centre.

Most numerous, aside perhaps from church organizations, were the fraternal lodges, most of them Masonic and entirely male preserves. The public report of a typical meeting of one Masonic lodge demonstrates the essential purpose of these institutions. At the beginning of the year, the "past principal Z" of the "North Star Chapter, Royal Arch Masons, No. 118, G.R.C." was lawyer H. C. Taylor. His successor for 1898 was J. J. Dunlop, to be assisted by "2nd principal H" D. C. Robertson, "3rd principal J" G. T. Bragg, "scribe E" T. Hourston, "scribe N" William Short, treasurer J. A. McDougall, "principal soj." F. A. Osborne, "master 1st V" A. H. Goodwin, "master 3rd V" Richard Secord, "4th V" G. H. Graydon and "Jan." Wm. McKay.¹ Without attempting to ferret out the meaning of all the initials, titles and ritual involved, it is certainly justifiable to interpret the emphasis on numerous distinctive, titled positions as an effort to combine for the members a sense of individual importance with a sense of communal belong-

ing. The fraternal lodges have therefore special significance in urban history. They fostered community.

Edmonton's Masonic lodges had a history dating back to 1881 and had secured a Masonic Hall soon after, certainly by 1883.² The Bulletin regularly featured a classified advertisement section devoted to listing "Secret Societies". The North Star Chapter of the Royal Arch Masons met regularly in Edmonton's Masonic Hall the second Tuesday evening of every month. Hourston's Hall seemed to share with the Masonic Hall the sites of weekly, fortnightly or monthly meetings of local lodges of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, the Ancient Order of Foresters ("Court Beaver House, No. 7866") the loyal Orange Order, and those going regularly by the mystical initials, A. F. and A. M. or A.O.U.W. Lochlomond Lodge, No. 111 of the Independent Order of Good Templars, preferred to create its own "Good Templar's Hall" from the old Methodist church, for meetings every second Tuesday evening. But then, the Templars formed no ordinary lodge, but a Christian temperance lodge seeking the improvement of society by putting the leadership into the hands of honest, temperate men.³

Some orders could involve Protestant clergymen. Baptist Rev. C. B. Freeman served as "C. T." with the admittedly unique Good Templars. Edmonton and Acadia (South Edmonton) Lodges, A. F. and A. M. celebrated with North Star Chapter of the Royal Arch Masons the "festival of St. John the Baptist by a parade to the English Church" to hear the Rev. H. A. Gray preach a special sermon. There are indications too of female equivalents of these male bastions: the "King's Daughters",

for example, conducted evening "at homes" for members and the public, but such reports were rare. Expansion of the variety of orders took place on the male side. In November the charter Knights of Pythias held their organizational meeting. And in South Edmonton it was Masonic lodges and the "Clyde" chapter of the Ancient Order of Foresters which were available.⁴

Their activities, in connection with the fraternal function, infrequently went beyond the regular meetings. On one occasion all Masons cooperated to welcome a visiting guest speaker, Member of Parliament Nicholas Flood Davin. At the end of the year Edmonton Lodge, A. F. and A. M. planned a festive ball for over 100 participants in Robertson Hall. The Templars did sponsor a series of elocutionary competitions as a kind of community service, but that was the only publicized example of any "service club" aspect for the lodges.⁵ They existed solely as copies of, or extensions of, the same fraternal lodges elsewhere in North America and Great Britain.

The communities to be fostered were thus not only local, but international. The international numbers by which local branches were identified ranged as high as 7,866 and every advertisement included the phrase, "Visiting brethren cordially invited." At home, they excluded non-members. Their lack of local independence is illustrated by the visit to the Edmonton arm of the Independent Order of Foresters of the I.O.F. "organizer" in July.⁶ Lest these lodges begin to seem more fragmenting than unifying an institution, one should keep in mind that for middle class businessmen and professionals access to membership was both easy and extensive. To belong was an

urban thing to do; that so many at a certain broad social level did was in itself an indication of unanimity (or uniformity) of outlook.

Three societies organized on the basis of religious and ethnic tradition would also seem at first glance to be divisive influences in the community, but were in reality not. These were the St. Jean Baptiste Society, the Orange Order and the St. Andrew's Society. The St. Jean Baptiste Society caught the public notice most in June, on the occasion of St. Jean Baptiste day. In 1898 the celebration of this special day involved a convergence of branches of the society from Morinville, St. Albert, Fort Saskatchewan and Edmonton on the Morinville headquarters. Festivities included a picnic followed by a concert and variety entertainment, to which a "musical and dramatic circle" of the Edmonton branch contributed. Members in this society were of course French speaking and Roman Catholic.⁷

Very little contrast was provided on July 12 by the "Orange celebration" of militant Irish-Scottish protestantism. Fort Saskatchewan brethren accompanied the Edmonton lodge for parade (to the sounds of fife and drum corps) dinner, addresses and "athletic sports" at the South Edmonton Agricultural Society grounds, courtesy of Loyal Orange Lodge No. 1654, South Edmonton. The speakers were such prominent community representatives as Robert McKernan and A. C. Rutherford from the south side, and M. P. Frank Oliver and area M.L.A. Frank Fraser Tims from the north side.⁸

The visibility of the St. Andrew's Society came later in the year, although regular monthly meetings prevailed through-

out the year. But the annual meeting in November was called not only to elect the next year's officers but also to arrange the highly public traditional annual dinner. Members and friends were invited to supper in the Queen's Hotel on November 30 for a "national reunion of the Sons of the Heather." The prominence of the Scottish society is revealed in the list of new officers, including municipal stalwarts G. J. Kinnaird, W. S. Edmiston, W. Johnstone Walker, Thomas Hourston and G. W. Gairdner. The ethnic and religious components were formalized in the positions of standard bearer (Archie Cameron), bard (James Johnstone) and chaplain (Rev. D. G. McQueen).

Their subsequent dinner "was probably the most successful in the history of the society at Edmonton," seventy members and their friends participating. The ever popular parade opened festivities, piper T. Hourston leading the procession from the fire hall to Queen's Hotel for dinner. The long round of toasts, however tedious they may have been, was perhaps the most significant aspect of the affair. Besides invited political representatives, the leaders of other societies, notably J. H. Picard, president of the St. Jean Baptiste Society, were honoured in toasts to their organizations.⁹ In such ways did various ostensibly separated societies maintain their traditions, yet, in formally entertaining one another's dignitaries, also build and maintain community friendliness and cooperation.

Another example of the same social device followed immediately in the fifth annual dinner of the Old Timers' Association. Included in their toasts was one to "sister societies", responded to by G. J. Kinnaird for the St. Andrew's Society and

J. H. Picard for the St. Jean Baptiste Society.¹⁰ The Old Timers' Association was, on the other hand, itself a unique organization in Edmonton, for it was inspired by the sense of local history and local pioneer pride.

Its two major functions of each year were dedicated to the memory of Edmonton's past and its present community. The annual January and February "Old Timers' Ball" had already achieved institutional status. For two dollars per couple, dancing to the music of two violins and a piano at the "opera house" followed supper at Jasper House across the street. Here homage was paid to the distinctive formative influences on the Edmonton identity. In 1898,

The room was tastefully decorated and adorned with furs and across the stage was erected an old time shanty in all its rustic simplicity. Traps and furs hung from the walls and several signs bearing the inscriptions, "Burbank's stopping place. Guides furnished to the Nelson and Liard," "Dining room girl wanted," etc., also decorated the walls.... There...were probably one hundred and fifty couples present. The old time effect was added to by some of the numbers on the programme, notably the duck dance and the time honored Red River jig.

In this last year before the creation of the Edmonton Club, the Association had no rivals in the field of formal social representation of Edmonton. Its compass was, moreover, geographically wide ranging. The 300 or 360 estimated to have attended the ball included many from South Edmonton. The 1898 elections of officers turned up not only Frank Oliver to succeed H. S. Young as president, but also a representative of the nearby Victoria district as vice-president and John Walter as the vice-president from South Edmonton. Veteran Edmonton politician Matt McCauley served as treasurer, and several other

veterans were pillars of the executive committee.¹¹

These organizations both mobilized and were mobilized by professional and business leaders. Their own professional associations claimed their time as well, but they had a stake in both their geographical and occupational communities. Other Edmontonians were aware of their distinction and would, at formal institutional dinners, raise toasts to "the learned professions." Their associations primarily, of course, regulated professional practices. The Law Society of the North-West Territories had licensing powers, so it was significant when the Edmonton Branch achieved an image of permanence by renting a room in the McLeod building in central Edmonton to house a library for the Society.¹² Clergymen had perhaps the strongest sense of all professionals of the uniqueness of their calling, yet several (notably Protestants) were active in various community associations. Insofar as these professionals were absorbed in external Edmonton community affairs, their professional isolation was to that extent broken down and at the same time made useful to all.

Not only the clergymen, but also the churches of Edmonton frequently found reason to respond to the town as a whole. It is true that a fairly simple collection of Christian denominations was established in Edmonton: six - including the brand new presence of Salvation Army barracks since the close of 1897.¹³ Adherents of other well-defined beliefs were no doubt present, but not yet in organized form. Abraham Cristall's family formed the majority of the Jewish population, so that his continued preservation of Jewish cultural and

religious practices took place entirely in his home.¹⁴ Organized religion in the Edmontons meant primarily the activities of four Protestant denominations (Methodist, Presbyterian, Anglican, Baptist) and the Roman Catholic Church.

Well established, they were by no means independent. All had metropolitan connections with their centralized church organizations, and some held very inferior positions in their denominations' schemes of things. Perhaps only the Catholic congregation had really transcended the "mission" stage denoting complete dependence on the parent body, although the north side Methodist congregation seems to have approached the Catholic in size.¹⁵ Exalted visitors came from the closest ecclesiastical centres: the Anglican Bishop of Calgary to conduct special services, the Presbyterian Home Missions overseer and the Superintendent of Baptist Home Missions from Winnipeg. On the other hand, local clergymen sometimes were called to attend centralized meetings elsewhere: Presbyterian Rev. D. G. McQueen spent ten March days at Home Mission committee meetings in Vancouver.¹⁶

Their relatively primitive development may have made it easier for some congregations to cooperate when they perceived a common objective. The greatest example of that, as we shall see later, was the intense prohibition campaign in summer and fall. But there were more ordinary instances. An evangelist invited to Edmonton to conduct a summer week of evening "Gospel meetings" for the Baptist Church was also invited to preach to a Methodist Sunday morning worship service. Three South Edmonton congregations, the Methodist, Presbyterian

and Baptist, took advantage of the parent "Evangelical Alliance" for such purposes as a cooperative "Week of Prayer" program in January.¹⁷ There was no hint of amalgamation in these measures; on the contrary, all were in the early stages of struggling to assert themselves. Their cooperation worked to assist each denomination in that endeavour at certain points of duplicate planning or where, as with prohibition, the objective was so tremendous as to demand a common front.

The main business of the churches was to schedule regular worship services, so normal as to be infrequently reported in the newspaper despite their regulating influence on the weekly timetable. Still, Methodists and Baptists made some effort on occasion to advertise their services beyond the confines of their own congregations. The special January sermon by Methodist Rev. Joshua Dyke, "The Manly Klondiker", which has already been noted, was a rather unusual example designed for the edification of Klondikers invited to "dress in their travelling costumes and occupy the centre seats of the church." Usually, advance publicity given to sermons was based on the drawing power expected from the sermon title. "The Young Man's Hindrances" were tackled by Baptist Rev. J. R. Cresswell in February; Rev. Joshua Dyke turned to a series of Biblical character studies in sermon format in March. Some especially noteworthy sermons and choir selections might be reported after the fact in the Bulletin or Plaindealer, Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist services receiving the greatest attention.¹⁸

The same denominations moved beyond regular services to special lectures and campaigns in attempts to reach the

general public, occasionally in cooperation. In March, Methodist Rev. E. B. Glass and Cree Chief Pakan visited the Edmontons from Whitefish Lake Reserve to conduct special mission-oriented worship services in the Methodist churches. Simultaneously, the Baptist Church in Edmonton advertised to the community at large a one week program of evening "gospel services" for which they were able to obtain a speaking contribution from Chief Pakan. Several more weeks of similar services were sponsored by the Baptists on both sides of the river in July and August. Once again they promoted a special attraction, this time visiting "Evangelist Pugsley".¹⁹

It was a little too early to expect the churches to prepare programs concentrating on reaching the new alien ethnic communities in the city. We have already seen that isolated attention was paid the Germans in June by visiting German language preachers of the Baptist and Presbyterian denominations, and that St. Joachim's Roman Catholic church once permitted the performance of a Greek Catholic service for the special benefit of some of the town's Galicians.

The Catholic churches in the Edmontons had not however gone much beyond their traditional allegiance to the French-speaking community. In fact, for the St. Joachim parish, ethnic diversification meant the steady influx of English speaking Catholics to the extent that English-language sermons became necessary. One response to such encroachment was the 1894 introduction into Edmonton of the French-Canadian Catholic St. Jean Baptiste Society. That was an agency to preserve a long-existing separate culture, not one to ease the

adjustment to Canadian customs of alien newcomers. Along the same line, French speaking Catholic businessmen like Stanislas LaRue belonged as well to the Catholic Mutual Benefit Association, which was a branch of a larger network. LaRue attended the national convention at Quebec in September as the Edmonton delegate.²⁰ The C.M.B.A. represented the intersection of French, Roman Catholic and investment interests. It demonstrated that the Roman Catholic community, even the French speaking Catholic community, maintained its own unity within, not separate from, the broader contexts.

Nor did Protestant attention to ethnic aliens go beyond some local participation in the work of the British and Foreign Bible Society.²¹ That is not to say, on the other hand, that all strangers in town were disregarded. In this year of the Klondike rush through the Edmontons there were more transients than usual to invite to church services and special presentations. They were, for the most part, treated to standard fare differentiated from Sunday morning worship mainly by an increase in musical content. Typical of the programs offered by the Presbyterians was one chaired by Rev. D. G. McQueen which consisted entirely of hymns, choir selections, organ solos and vocal solos. The Baptists staged "missionary and musical" programs. While the potential audience was broader than each congregation itself, that was apparently insufficient reason for the churches to change the established formula by which entertainment was given only slight place in those concerts and socials designed primarily to propagate the Gospel. Perhaps the most daring departure from regular church format

for the evangelical denominations was to be seen in the open air garden parties of the Methodist Epworth Leagues. More typical, presented by Anglicans as well, were the traditional "Christmas Tree" entertainments open to the public.²²

A rather different category of church-sponsored entertainment was intended to raise money. The best publicized fund raisers were the ladies of the Catholic and Anglican churches. The Presbyterians did stage a summer "talent show" at Robertson Hall which supplied not only music, but also cut flowers and candies for sale.²³ For the most part, however, they refrained along with the Methodists and Baptists from mixing such material objectives into the affairs of religious bodies. Their own preoccupation was, as we shall see, quite different.

The favourite Catholic means of earning money outside of congregational donations was the bazaar. In 1898 they had a special project to benefit from their efforts. St. Anthony's Church in South Edmonton was preparing to construct a new church building. At the end of 1897 the Catholic ladies of South Edmonton organized a bazaar involving musical entertainment provided by musicians from both sides of the river. More of this inter-community cooperation was displayed by the Edmonton Catholic ladies who sponsored a series of winter bazaars in aid of their South Edmonton comrades at both ends of 1898.²⁴ Only the provision of a concert in the opera house on St. Patrick's day evening diverted the Catholic ladies from their single-minded approach.²⁴ Denominational loyalties obviously helped to undermine any potential inter-community division

between the Edmontons.

Anglican ladies would only infrequently turn to the bazaar format to raise funds. Their main method was to organize entertainments for spectators who were charged admission fees. At the start of the year the All Saints' chancel guild advertised a musical "promenade concert" in Robertson Hall for which admission would cost 25 cents. In May this congregation produced a three act stage comedy for which admission again had a price. On the South Side, the ladies and "Juveniles" of Holy Trinity Church derived financial rewards from two April shows of another entirely secular production, "the fairy play, Cinderella", in Ross' Hall. For one of these occasions the ladies managed to persuade South Edmonton merchants to close their stores (at the time normally open Saturday evenings) in order to increase chances of good attendance and proceeds.²⁵

Productions of all church denominations tended, as we have already seen, to involve cooperation of cross-river members within denominations. They were also almost universally conducted by women's groups of the churches. This standard role for women emphasizes the kind of segregation by assumed separate interests operating within the church populations. Roman Catholic church ladies, despite their formal, structured organization, were not yet distinguished to the public at large by a special group name, but the "Chancel Guilds" of the Anglican congregations were, and so were the Baptist Women's Mission Circles and the Methodist Ladies' Aid Societies.²⁶ Baptist, Presbyterian and Methodist women

were, of course, eager participants in the cross-denominational Women's Christian Temperance Union.

Sunday Schools were common for children who might, at least in the case of Presbyterians, pass through such separate clubs as the "Young People's Christian Endeavour Society" before achieving irrevocable adult status. Adult men were universally entrusted with management of regular church affairs: only they were eligible for congregational executive boards. French speaking men were the family representatives in the St. Jean Baptiste Society. While the Protestant Young Men's Christian Association had not yet arrived at Edmonton, in the informal meetings of half a dozen young men at the home of John A. McDougall were the seeds of a preliminary organization which would formally emerge in 1899, under the presidency of Anglican Rev. H. A. Gray, as the Edmonton Young Men's Institute.²⁷

All these structured separations into groups were simply extensions of well-known traditions of church participation in eastern Canada, with British and American precursors. They were matched by other traditions, especially annual Sunday School picnics (really for whole families) and winter "Christmas Trees" for the Protestants, St. Jean Baptiste day celebrations for the Catholics, which added the experience of congregational unity in the realm of entertainment to their common religious beliefs and observances.²⁸ There was almost as much ritual to these events as in the various religious worship forms. The curious pattern, with intriguing similarities in the secular world surrounding them, combined commonly held congregational beliefs and objectives with practical, functional

segregation of group roles in pursuit of those goals. The men set building plans, for example; the women (in the Anglican and Catholic congregations) undertook special projects to help achieve them.

The churches were also visible in the external community through their professional representatives, the clergymen. A number of the towns' organizations solicited the services of Protestant clergymen as chaplains. Presbyterian Rev. D. G. McQueen acted as chaplain at least for the Edmonton Curling Club and the St. Andrew's Society.²⁹ Clergymen could, as well, become prominent by participating in public discussion of controversial political issues. Education would be one example in other years, but in 1898 the outstanding case was the struggle to impose prohibition of alcoholic beverages throughout Canada. The clergymen of the Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian congregations found themselves allied in this campaign with the Women's Christian Temperance Union against a somewhat undefined enemy.

Both sides were active long before the June announcement of a national plebiscite on prohibition. The Hudson's Bay Company set the scene, so to speak, by calling tenders in January for the enlargement of its store, a substantial part of which was the extension of the liquor section to the full length of the store and upward another storey. On the other hand, the W.C.T.U. was prominent in the two towns. A "Temperance Column" was occasionally contributed to the Plaindealer, in which, for example, appeared the inspirational story of a woman who "had openly vaunted her fondness for beer" until she made an abrupt

reversal to wear the W.C.T.U. white ribbon of abstinence because she made up her mind "not to set wrinkles on my face with beer." The three churches noted above were also regularly active in the anti-liquor campaign. One Sunday evening a "gospel temperance meeting" followed the regular service in the Methodist church of South Edmonton. The close cooperation of clergymen with the women's movement was displayed in a public meeting in Ross' hall, South Edmonton, in March. The W.C.T.U. sponsored it, but two of the three speakers were clergymen, the third also a man.³⁰ A few leading men, mostly clerical, inspired an essentially female movement.

Another strong source of inspiration was the equivalent movement in the United States. After the legendary American prohibitionist, Frances Willard, died early in the year, elaborate memorial services were arranged in the Methodist churches by the W.C.T.U. In the Edmonton version, several eulogistic addresses and readings about Willard's work were delivered, followed by "earnest words" and a "strong appeal" for the continuing work of the union by leaders on both sides of the river. The effect was apparently temporarily stupendous. The next May temperance meeting in South Edmonton was crowded to overflowing. Enthusiasm for the cause may also have been stimulated by a situation allegedly so bad in South Edmonton that a night constable was recommended by the Plaindealer "to keep in subjection the drunken rabble who infest the streets and made the night hideous with their yelling, howling and fighting."³¹

Not only could liquor be obtained at the Hudson's Bay

Company outlet, but beer could be purchased by the keg either directly from the South Edmonton Brewing Company or from its sales agent. The public social settings for drinking were the facilities of licensed hotels. In April, then again in May, Territorial liquor license commissioners met in the Edmontons to consider applications from hotels not holding licenses. The four licenses granted (three were refused) brought the number of licensed hotels in Edmonton to four, in South Edmonton to four and in nearby St. Albert to two, a total of 10 for a population of no more than five or six thousand, including the surrounding farmers. As if to make a case for the prohibitionists, one of the successful applicants was simultaneously fined in court for "disorderly conduct" and charges were briefly laid, then dismissed, against three hotel keepers for having their bar blinds down on Sunday, suggesting illegal business. Prohibitionists made the most of the publicity.³²

The Rev. W. R. Harvey, travelling lecturer and singer in search of moral and financial support for the cause of temperance, happened to be in Edmonton at the invitation of the W.C.T.U. when the Canadian government announced in June an impending national plebiscite to decide the question of prohibition. Harvey became very busy in subsequent weeks. Before the end of the month all ladies of the Edmontons were urged to attend meetings to organize a campaign for prohibition. Harvey increased his contribution on behalf of Gospel-based abstinence beyond Sunday events to include twice weekly open-air lectures in South Edmonton's central band stand, open air meetings on the North side, and the addition of his voice to

a Baptist evangelist crusade.³³

But the campaign did not really heat up until the early August announcement of September 29 as voting day. Prohibitionist preparations mounted to a frantic level. It was immediately announced that

The crystal male trio of gospel temperance singers will hold two meetings in the Baptist church this and tomorrow evenings at eight o'clock. In addition there will be recitations by Will R. Harvey, organ selections and a short address. On Tuesday evening steps will be taken to organize temperance workers in Edmonton for the plebiscite. Everyone is invited to spend a pleasant evening. A collection will be taken.

The Methodist church offered "special sermons morning and evening in the interests of the prohibition plebiscite," once following up a morning treatise on "What the liquor traffic has done for us, and what we have done for it" with an evening exposition of "The present issue." Mr. Harvey, now designated simply "temperance organizer", shifted into high gear. An open air meeting permitted him the chance to reach unwilling listeners beyond the fringe of his normal audience with a "chalk talk" on the practical subject of the "Revenue from Liquor" while within the churches he could link Christianity and prohibition with reference to the Bible.³⁴

Harvey also used Edmonton's Baptist Church as the site for the organization of an Edmonton branch of a national prohibition federation created to fight the prohibition campaign. Still dominated by clergymen, the new group at least transcended the single sex image of the well known W.C.T.U. Baptist Rev. C. B. Freeman became local president, Presbyterian clergyman D. G. McQueen secretary-treasurer. But four laymen

were joined by only two women on the executive committee. The standard Protestant division of roles in the churches worked here as well. Decision making was to be dominated by men; the practical matter of collecting funds was once again left to a bevy of women. Public speakers, though they began to include a greater proportion of laymen, definitely did not include the women who had so long fought the battle.³⁵

One advantage to the prohibitionists was the support of the two newspapers. The Plaindealer favoured the measure "first on moral grounds and secondly on grounds of expediency." Its editorials constantly belaboured the argument that the liquor traffic engendered considerable cost to the community. Even the loss of license revenues would surely be more than offset by the money saved in the cost of liquor. The Bulletin began by pointing out wryly that should prohibitionists fail to secure their objective, they could be blamed for "causing an expenditure of a quarter of a million dollars without result except to demonstrate the weakness of their own cause." Nevertheless, the Bulletin also had two reasons for supporting prohibition: first, the practical observation that it would mean not a loss but merely a redistribution of public taxation; second, the observation that since liquor was taxed burdensomely on the basis of being evil, evil being admitted, the proper approach was to eliminate it altogether.³⁶

The opposition, on the other hand, was difficult to identify in local terms. Baptist Rev. C. B. Freeman had to excoriate "liquor interests" in general because of their lack of local participation in the debate. Despite this, argued

Freeman, "the liquor trade throughout the Dominion is making every possible effort to influence the vote. Their campaign is a secret one, partly because the methods will not bear the light, and partly to avoid arousing the temperance people to activity. They profess indifference in order to cause indifference among the temperance people." That blast did provoke an anti-prohibitionist response which proved how ill-advised normal routes to publicity were for retentionists in towns where the newspapers were controlled by the opposition. A "mass" of anti-prohibition literature was delivered to the unsympathetic Bulletin office "from an unknown source," including one card obviously meant for public distribution entitled "Ten good reasons why I will vote 'no' on the plebiscite." To nullify the potential effect of widespread circulation of this, the Bulletin editor promptly printed the "ten good reasons" with his own good dismissal of each. He went on to urge an overwhelming majority vote in favour of prohibition as the only means of ensuring federal legislation.³⁷

Speakers at public meetings were one-sidedly for prohibition, local Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian clergymen keeping up the pace of their campaign through September. With little or no public opposition, few outsiders were imported on the side of prohibition. Aside from Harvey, the organizer who had just happened to be available at the start, perhaps only one visitor from Kansas and the occasional clergyman from neighbouring parishes supplemented the work in the Edmontons.³⁸ It was, therefore, an outstanding example of the reform style of the three principal churches responsible for attempting to

impose on the towns a uniform standard of behaviour in the area of alcoholic consumption. Both their partial success and their overall failure are important indicators of unities and divisions in the Edmontons.

The decision would be made by those who cared to vote among the male British subjects (except Indians) of at least 21 years of age with at least 12 months' residence in the North West Territories and three in their current electoral districts. Many recent immigrants would be disqualified for reasons both of insufficient local residence and lack of British subject status. Considerable opposition to prohibition, it can be speculated, would be lost because of voting ineligibility. Reports of voting results coincided, ironically, with the news that one of the formerly successful South Edmonton applicants for a hotel liquor license had been convicted of "selling liquor to an interdicted person" and fined \$100 and costs, default of payment to result in forfeiture of his liquor license and three months' attendance in jail. He could, as it turned out, expect little sympathy from the 158 South Edmonton voters, of whom 118 cast their ballots in favour of prohibition. On the north side of the river, where a fairly substantial group of qualified French speaking Catholics resided, the vote was almost even: 124 for and 121 against prohibition. South Edmonton voted much the same as Calgary (402 for, 178 against) while Edmonton's vote could be compared with Canada's as a whole (Quebec overwhelmingly against, the rest of the country - except Ontario cities - strongly for).³⁹

This was, in Edmonton as in Canada, a show of remarkable

strength on the part of prohibitionists, but also a display of resolute opposition among a substantial segment of the population. "Temperance" meetings resumed in October and the speakers (including Frank Oliver, M. P.) pointed out that the battle for a successful outcome had just begun. Federal legislation on the matter could not be surely predicted. The Bulletin editor, no doubt developing Oliver's own position, interpreted the overall fractional Canadian majority of 13,000 for prohibition as a clear signal for the provinces and territories to deal with the problem, thereby avoiding any futile effort to promulgate a law unenforceable in Quebec. And thus vigilance was to be maintained, but it reverted to the duty of the W.C.T.U. which had been its main champion before the plebiscite. Annual meetings of W.C.T.U. branches on both sides of the river resolved to continue pressing for prohibition.⁴⁰

All this activity did not, however, prevent J. B. Mercer from opening a wholesale liquor store on October 24.⁴¹ Clearly there were persistent divisions in Edmontonians' views on the standards of behaviour which ought to prevail among all in the community, differences which would be argued strenuously for the next three decades, the advantage first with one side, then with the other, many residents presumably committed to neither. The controversy was the most visible sign of the dedication within some of the churches to establish for the entire community adherence to an ideal behaviour. The kind of unanimous agreement which would be required for the success of such a project never existed in the Edmontons, but the degree of tolerance necessary to keep the urban network

functioning and generally peaceful in spite of it obviously did. A homogeneous community the Edmontons did not present, not even in 1898, but the institutions required to transcend heterogeneity in favour of the cooperative whole, all borrowed from established communities elsewhere, had already begun to develop to ensure unhampered coordination of the contributions of a multitude of diverse specialists.

Footnotes

1. Edmonton Bulletin (EB), January 17, 1898.
2. Frank A. Peake, "The Beginnings of the Diocese of Edmonton, 1875-1913" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1952), 35, 64.
3. See, for example, EB, May 19, 1898. See also, Robert Irwin McLean, "A Most Effectual Remedy: Temperance and Prohibition in Alberta, 1875-1915" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Calgary, 1969), 26-27.
4. EB, May 19, June 2, 23, November 14, 1898; Alberta Plaindealer (AP), March 30, July 13, 1898.
5. EB January 13, 31, May 5, June 9, November 17, 21, December 29, 1898.
6. EB, May 19, July 21, 1898.
7. EB, June 30, 1898.
8. AP, June 29, July 13, 1898; EB, July 11, 14, 1898. Tims moved to Edmonton in 1898, although he represented not Edmonton but Fort Saskatchewan and area in the Territorial Assembly.
9. EB, November 17, 25, December 1, 1898.
10. EB, December 12, 1898.
11. EB, February 3, 17, 24, November 21, 1898; AP, February 24, 1898.
12. EB, September 1, December 12, 1898. At the December St. Andrew's Society dinner, Rev. D. G. McQueen, P. L. McNamara

(lawyer) and C. de W. Macdonald (lawyer) replied to the toast to "the learned professions."

13. EB, December 27, 1897; January 3, 1898.

14. Tony Cashman, Abraham Cristall: The Story of a Simple Man (1963), 13, 15.

15. A handwritten list of "Names of Ladies in Meth. congregation, Edmonton," in a minutebook covering 1894-1898 entitled "Record of the WCTU Work in the Territories" contains close to 120 names. See Women's Christian Temperance Union papers, 1894-1966, Box 1, File 1, Glenbow-Alberta Institute (GAI). This total does not include South Edmonton entrants, of course. Nor does a full membership figure of over 200 for All Saints' Anglican Church, Edmonton in early 1898, recorded in Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Calgary held July 13th, 14th and 15th, 1898 at Calgary, Alberta, N.W.T. (Calgary, Alberta Tribune Job Print, 1898), Appendix C. See a microfilm record at GAI of "Anglican Church, Calgary. Proceedings of the Synod, Diocese of Calgary, 1889-1911."

In January, 1899 St. Joachim's parish counted 555 souls in 87 families in Edmonton; 250 souls in 40 families in South Edmonton; but of course the boundaries observed for these tallies are open to question. See 1898 St. Joachim Liber Animarum, p. 233, in the Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton (PAA).

According to the 1901 Census of Canada, the population of the Edmontons, which had increased about 25-30% since 1898, was about one-quarter Presbyterian, better than one-fifth Roman Catholic, better than one-sixth each Methodist and Anglican, and merely one-sixteenth Baptist. Canada, Census, 1901, vol. 1, 270-273.

16. EB, February 17, 24, 28, March 10, 1898.

17. EB, July 28, 1898; AP December 30, 1897.

18. EB, January 27, February 14, 21, 24, March 3, 1898, and regularly thereafter.

19. EB, March 3, 14, July 11, 18, 21, 25, 1898; AP, March 10, July 29, 1898.

20. EB, September 12, 1898.

21. EB, June 16, 20, 30, September 22, 1898; AP, February 3, 1898; Hart, "The History of the French-Speaking Community of Edmonton, 1795-1935" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1971), 31-41. Of the 555 souls of the St. Joachim parish counted in Edmonton in January, 1899, 195 were listed as French Canadian in St. Joachim records, 175 as Metis, 116 as Irish and the rest were divided among English, German, French, Galician (2), Belgian and Swiss.

22. EB, March 2, 14, 24, August 18, October 20, November 21, December 19, 26, 1898; AP, December 30, 1897, March 3, December 23, 1898.
23. EB, August 22, 1898.
24. EB, December 30, 1897, February 7, March 10, 17, October 6, 27, 31, 1898, January 2, 1899; AP, July 6, October 21, 1898.
25. EB, January 10, 13, 17, March 14, 17, 28, May 9, 12, 16, 1898; AP, April 13, 1898.
26. EB, January 10, 13, August 18, 1898; AP, March 3, 1898.
27. EB, May 23, 1898; "The History of the Edmonton Young Men's Christian Association," mimeographed manuscript, 3: Y.M.C.A. papers, PAA.
28. EB, July 21, August 8, November 21, December 26, 29, 1898; AP, August 13, December 23, 1898.
29. EB, November 3, December 1, 1898.
30. EB, January 17, 1898; AP, February 17, March 16, 23, 1898.
31. EB, February 28, March 7; AP, April 6, May 18, June 15, 1898.
32. EB, April 4, May 30, 1898; AP, March 30, April 6, 20, 22, May 4, 18, 25, 1898.
33. EB, June 27, July 21, 1898; AP, June 29, July 22, 1898.
34. EB, August 8, 11, 18, 1898.
35. EB, August 18, 22, 25, 1898.
36. AP, August 13, 26, September 2, 9, 23, 1898; EB, August 22, 1898.
37. EB, September 19, 26, 1898.
38. EB, September 1, 8, 12, 15, 29, 1898.
39. EB, September 15, 19, October 3, 6, 1898; AP, September 30, 1898.
40. EB, October 3, November 7, 10, December 8, 1898; AP, October 7, 1898.
41. EB, October 24, 1898.

Chapter 7: Recreation and Entertainment.

Organized public entertainment in Edmonton and Strathcona in 1898 had some cohesive effect in two different ways. In the first place, it was public because it required participation on a larger scale than was permitted within families or close circles of friends. This was true of team sports, for example, and of dramatic or musical display. Beyond the requirement of group participation, in the second place, both sports interests and theatrical displays were intended to attract audiences. A spectator at a stage play would experience feelings quite distinct from those stimulating an onlooker at a horse race or hockey match. In both instances, however, the common phenomenon of spectatorship was an interesting urban characteristic: the degree to which Edmontonians were spectators in 1898 may suggest their susceptibility to urbanization.¹ Because this was still a relatively intimate community, however, its members still enjoyed a fair proportion of participating town entertainments.

The best publicized group recreations were skating carnivals and dances in the winter, cycling excursions and picnics in the summer. From late November on, the Edmonton band divided much of its evening time between the Holden and Johnston, and the Thistle outdoor rinks, in late 1898 adding the new, covered Smith and Company rink to its list of clients. On designated regular evenings the band accompanied free skating periods. The South Edmonton band did the same at the local Shamrock rink. The special occasions were skating carnivals appealing to skaters, masqueraders and spectators.

Prizes would normally be awarded to winners of racing competitions, for especially "graceful" and "fancy" skating exhibitions, and for outstanding costumes. Sometimes the entertainment continued after the carnival was over, for the community at large, in the sense that costume descriptions were deemed worthy of publication in the Bulletin. Ladies might skate as anything from "Mother Goose" through "Canada" and "Butterfly" to "servant girl". Gentlemen might appear as ordinary cooks, sailors or clowns, but appeared fascinated with diverse exotic ethnic groups demonstrably not included among them - blacks, Indians, Eskimos, Galicians, Japanese - and with the attempt to impersonate females.²

Dances also retained an element of exhibitionism in the form of relatively elaborate "balls" hosted by specific organizations, like the Old Timers' Association or the South Edmonton Agricultural Society. But from time to time dances were advertised and held in Robertson Hall by no particular organization, simply by a number of young people for entertainment value. They might reflect temporary opportunities, like one "Klondike Calico Ball" in April, or be rationalized simply for the sake of fun. South side bachelors staged an "At Home" in early February at the Royal Hotel, drawing forty couples. A month later "the ladies" responded with a "calico ball and box special" in the same location. North West Mounted Police barracks were a well known source of dance invitations, and although they undoubtedly involved a more select group, in so small a town setting, the selection could not have been overly particular.³

The widespread summertime group recreation and exercise of cycling could easily be organized into a special entertainment. The Edmonton Bicycle Club often arranged excursions to nearby country destinations where refreshments were served and dancing might take place. On one occasion something was borrowed from the skating tradition of costume carnivals, when a masquerade parade provided something for both participants and spectators. Cycling added a special dimension to the organized picnic, which was widely enjoyed among large groups. Up to ninety members and friends of the Edmonton Bicycle Club would make "bicycle runs" to picnic sites. On statutory holidays like May 24, special festive outdoor celebrations would normally include not only structured athletics, but also a multitude of picnics sponsored by organizations or private parties. "Arbor Day" earlier in May was dedicated to the theme of tree-planting, but on this symbolic day of emergence from the long, enclosing Edmonton winter, "pic-nic, driving and wheeling parties were the order of the day."⁴

Hunting and fishing were scarcely divorced from the business of living for those used to travelling the hinterland for trading purposes, and it must have been enjoyed as well by many who were strictly townsmen. Hunting season was autumn, when seasonal shooting restrictions on many varieties of game were lifted. Some camping and canoeing expeditions on the hunt went quite far afield, to Big Hay Lakes, for example, or the vicinity of Rocky Mountain House at the headwaters of the North Saskatchewan River.⁵

A more genteel version of the escape to wilderness recreation took place at the camps of H. H. or W. S. Robertson or the "Koney Island Company's club house" at Cooking Lake not far from the town. Here the primitive joys of camping were modified by the presence of violinists for dancing and the innovation of a twelve passenger "gasoline launch" operated by the Koney Island Company to and from the lake. In the newspapers, among the names listed of Edmontonians leaving for vacations to other cities could be found plenty heading for camp or cottage at nearby lakes or to the mountains at Banff or Jasper.⁶ Beyond the summer campers reported at these resorts, more must have taken advantage of less exotic but beautiful natural sites surrounding the town. Insofar as they did, they emphasized the degree of their urban identification by the desire they exhibited to make an entertainment of giving up some amenities of civilization for safely short periods.

Even in 1898 a great proportion of the entertainment came as staged presentations for mass audiences. For some of this, local organization was significant. Aside from the brass bands sported by both South Edmonton and Edmonton, and the musicians who provided dance music for the numerous public dances, the first formal organization dedicated to musical presentations was the "Apollo Glee Club". The objects of this choral society for men were simply "mutual benefit and production of good music". Executive positions immediately gave the Club impressive structure: not only conductor and librarian, but also president, vice-president (crown prosecutor N. D. Beck) and secretary treasurer, all serving as both an executive

and a musical committee. So auspicious a January beginning was followed by February practices for a concert presented in April, accompanied by one Captain Charles Holt, "late pianist in the Conservatoire of Music, Vienna."⁷ Activity thereafter, unfortunately, seems to have fallen off or become extremely private.

The "Edmonton Orchestra", which made a brief appearance in connection with an Anglican church-sponsored play, seems never to have achieved any level of prominence.⁸ Much more promise attended the efforts of the first meeting in J. L. Johnson's hardware store to form an "Operatic and Dramatic Society". Once again a rather massive organizational structure was filled by election: President Johnson, his vice-president and his secretary-treasurer were supported by an executive committee of five; conductor A. G. Randall and an assistant formed the orchestral committee. The society, forty strong even at the outset, began to prepare Gilbert and Sullivan's "Pirates of Penzance" for early February, 1899. A concert during the Christmas season was a secondary objective.⁹ Here was a measure of local determination to enjoy participation in established old country culture far from its source, but there was no attempt to foster any such thing as a local culture. Traditional external standards were being imposed on the new community, and in order to enjoy well-known forms of entertainment, Edmontonians were roused to cooperate locally. In South Edmonton one could maintain some contact with the English speaking world's intellectual traditions by observing or taking sides in debates sponsored by the Literary Institute.¹⁰ Similar efforts

were made, as we have seen, by members of the French-speaking community.

Various groups staged elocutionary contests which, if they may seem potentially low in entertainment value, were at least accompanied by some musical program. Technological novelties drew good crowds. Primitive photograph slides and gramophones were among the most popular. A St. Patrick's day concert featured gramophones in its usual musical program. Two Klondikers, applying their ingenuity to assist a fellow transient who had suddenly to return from whence he came but was financially ill-prepared to do so, raised money by accompanying a "minstrel sketch" with a gramophone. Church groups promoted a multitude of fund raising concerts, religiously inspired concerts, talent shows, plays and other literary and musical presentations at socials and garden parties. From the local amateurs alone, Edmonton and South Edmonton residents could expect a goodly assortment of productions to watch.¹¹

But this matter of buying the opportunity to enjoy vicariously the entertaining accomplishments of others was carried much further, even in 1898. The railway connection through Calgary with the rest of North America meant the Edmontonians were placed on the itineraries of a number of touring professionals with various acts. Here was a measure of Edmonton's urban advancement: not only did the citizen purchase the goods and services necessary for living, but he was also able already to purchase his entertainment from full-time specialists.

There were limits to the selection in 1898. Among so

small a population, there were too few aficionados of esoteric theatrical and musical delights requiring sophisticated advance knowledge to justify economically the appearance of professionals in the fields of "serious" music or "serious" drama. Most professional entertainment attracted to the Edmontons was therefore designed to draw as broad a cross-section of the public as possible. Perhaps the most popular form was the variety concert of music, dancing and demonstrations of technological novelties. Two such companies, the Cosgrove Concert Company and the "Hardie Ideals" once performed simultaneously at two Edmonton halls - the Edmonton Opera House and Taylor Hall - without affecting each other's capacity turnouts. Their programs were essentially the same: musical presentations, "Kinetoscopic" exhibitions, and highland and butterfly dancing "with calcium effects". The Cosgrove outfit melded local interest in both new gadgetry and home town pride with "ten lime light views of Klondike parties leaving Edmonton and the Athabasca Landing." Another itinerant company highlighting skit-level plays in its program added to its inducements a "Kinetoscopic representation of the Corbett-Fitzsimmons Fight." One couple combined "phonographic and hypnotic entertainment."¹²

Plays, generally of a light and relatively superficial quality, were popular, perhaps in a similar way as films later would be. Some were included within variety programs. Others were delivered by dramatic specialists. The Harry Lindley Comedy Company was encouraged by audience demand to remain longer than anticipated when they hit the local peak interest with the staging of something entitled "The Yukon Pioneer".

Both Robertson's Hall on the north side of the river and the new Ross' Hall on the south side held large crowds for plays presented by the R. E. French Theatre Company at the end of the year. Literary and musical presentations receiving less widespread audience support were offered by one Fred Emerson Brooks, advertised as a poet and "humorous reader and entertainer" and later by Bernhard Walther (violinist), his wife and a Miss Eschelmann (pianist) in the Robertson "opera house."¹³

By contrast, enthusiasm prevailed for the arrival in each of Edmonton and South Edmonton in late August of the three ring circus, "Lemen Brothers' World's Monster Shows". Not only did advertisements promise spectators an enormous elephant, the world's highest diver, a superlative bareback horse gymnast, racing steers, "100 Exalted Circus Champions in 150 Supreme Acts," and "whole droves and herds of animals," but they also invited Edmontonians to see that "rarest, strangest, awfulest of all the mighty monsters of the great deep," the "Might Bovalapus". Some critical reference was eventually made to unsavoury "side shows and skin games" and "swindling," but it scarcely disturbed the wave of excitement caused by the circus spectacle.¹⁴ Apparently vicarious, escapist entertainment which would contrast with the familiar, predictable, stable order of the ordinary village world best caught the imagination of Edmonton's and South Edmonton's majorities.

Sometimes exciting spectacles did not remove the viewers far from their normal world at all, but intentionally emphasized or glorified certain prominent features of it. Pro-

fessionals could not yet fill this function; dedicated community leaders were those primarily responsible for the civic demonstrations honouring specific groups or individuals. The community as a whole was highlighted in the civic organization of mass holidays: Arbor Day, Queen Victoria's birthday and Dominion Day, celebrated in athletic competition and concerts in Robertson's Hall by the Edmonton Brass Band.¹⁵

Certain clubs and societies brought public attention to their roles in the community with similar planned displays. St. Jean Baptiste day, or the festival of St. John the Baptist, was observed in traditional pleasurable celebration by both French and English language groups. The St. Jean Baptiste societies of the Edmonton district were treated to picnic, concert and drama at Morinville. The Edmonton and Acadia lodges, A. F. and A. M. (representing Edmonton and South Edmonton, respectively), together with the North Star chapter Royal Arch Masons and any other visiting Masons who cared to join, marked the occasion by an evening parade to the Anglican church. Perhaps listening to a sermon hardly counted as entertainment, but it matched the ritualistic form of the parade, an extraordinary event meant to please spectators while emphasizing the day. Orange Order celebrations on July 12 were similar: noon picnic dinner and addresses were followed by sports events and a parade for the benefit of all and sundry observers.¹⁶

The appreciation and support of all residents was the obvious objective of extravagant formal public demonstrations tendered deserving public officials on days specially set apart. A banquet in honour of M.L.A. Frank Fraser Tims in

Fort Saskatchewan in February was attended by many Edmontonians. On a grander scale, the Board of Trade invited the "general public" to assist in arranging a banquet to honour M. P. Frank Oliver on his return from Ottawa. Oliver's reception eventually included a public holiday, an open air meeting and bands besides the banquet. The town's leading (Liberal) citizens planned the event, and it contained strong political overtones, but the impression given by all the publicity was that they wished to involve and represent the entire community.¹⁷

A different kind of urban representation infused the make believe world of sport. The number of distinct activities had grown quite large by 1898, so in a sense it was a fragmented sphere of endeavour. On the other hand, in many events provision was made for spectators, so not only those directly participating derived enjoyment from the proceedings. Even the smaller groups of participants in several sports required the cooperation of other Edmontonians as paying spectators or through their municipal representatives if facilities adequate for the games were to be set aside. Early in 1898 the Thistle rink was equipped with 38 electric lights to allow evening skating and, significantly, an evening schedule for all Thistle hockey team matches. In turn, the possibility of many more paying observers for the games after regular working hours permitted the kind of facilities enjoyed by the hockey players. Golf enthusiasts, tennis players, bowlers and curlers obviously depended on sufficient fellow participants to pay for the necessary space, buildings and maintenance. Teams in cricket, soccer and rugby required park space

to be set aside by the municipality for athletic use. If there was not enough space for simultaneous engagement by a number of teams, a degree of cooperation was necessary among them. One cricket match had to be left incomplete to make way for a scheduled soccer game between Edmonton and Stony Plain teams.¹⁸ Thus a multitude of agreements was required even to enable organized sports events to take place.

The more open the participation, the greater the attention to group organization in such recreational sports as curling, golf, lawn tennis, shooting, bowling and cycling. Although most popular in the excursion form of recreation, the last was organized in the Edmonton Cycling Club at least in part to promote racing as well. The Canadian Wheelmen's Association (which originated in central Canada in 1880s, just before the discovery of a cheap way to produce bicycles) assisted the local club to level and improve the race track for cycling training and intra-club races over distances of one and two miles.¹⁹ Golf was the other summer sport for individual participation which was as well established as cycling. The "annual meeting" of April was already an institutionalized event signifying the start of another season. Regular play was interspersed during the summer with tournaments in men's and women's competition for well-recognized prizes. The closing ritual for the season involved special tournaments in September before some spectators and with "the ladies" serving lunch in the historic "Big House".²⁰ Checking the regularly published lists of golf winners against the town directory, one may estimate the occupations characteristic of the

participants. They were mainly businessmen and professionals and their families.

Some of the same people took part in the tournaments organized by tennis club committees on both the north and south sides of the river. While the north side players had been organized already for seven years, the South Edmonton Lawn Tennis Courts were just opened in July. From that point parallel sets of events occurred in the two locations. Play was already quite rigidly structured: reservations were required to ensure time slots for court space, and one day each week became tournament day.²¹ Shooting, within the confines of gun clubs, had a contrastingly sporadic course through 1898. Edmonton's rod and gun club early in the year experienced difficulty bringing out enough members to hold meetings, although it pulled itself together in early June to arrange the "usual summer shoot" and tournament participation in Dominion Day festivities. The organizational dedication to regularly scheduled action which infused the golf and tennis club was missing in the rod and gun club, although a South Edmonton gun club with twenty charter members appeared in mid-summer.²²

Prior to 1898, indoor bowling apparently did not exist in Edmonton. But the spring clearing of the lot next to the Queen's Hotel was followed by the erection there of a privately owned combination of bowling alley, shooting gallery, tobacco store and barber shop.²³ Bowling would in time prove to be the most popular of all the sports organized in Edmonton for participants, with more than a hint of plebeian flavour. In 1898, though, it was still a novelty.

Skating may have been the most widely practised winter outdoor recreation, but among competitive sports for non-athletes, curling stood alone in popularity. It was by 1898 thoroughly organized, particularly in Edmonton, although South Edmonton too evidently supported a club. Those who belonged to the Edmonton Curling Club may again have been among the moderately prosperous and possibly older sportsmen, those who were willing to pay the \$10 annual fee. There was a Patron - Mayor Edmiston, a Patroness - Mrs. Frank Oliver and a Chaplain - Rev. D. G. McQueen. President Alex Taylor received the aid of two vice-presidents, a secretary-treasurer, two representative members and a five man committee of management. Play was directed toward prizes in the forms of cups or "buttons": the Hardisty Cup, the Galt "Blue Ribbon Cup" and the Vice-President's button, for example. Women do not seem regularly to have participated, although an occasional curling match was reported between married ladies and single girls. The demonstrated suitability for the sport of a newly built covered ice rink presaged the end of one long-standing obstruction to smooth planning: vagaries of the weather.²⁴ A covered rink served well the constant urban drive to improve organized cooperative activity, in sport as in all endeavours.

Some bonspiels had for a number of years already injected civic representation into the local world of curling. Calgary and Edmonton clubs staged annual open bonspiels to which curlers from the rival centre were invited. Edmonton and South Edmonton curlers failed in 1898, for example, in their quest in Calgary to capture the Calgary Brewing and

Malting Company's trophy.²⁵ This was an aspect of sport - community representation - made to order for spectators, for whom team sports, especially hockey, held greater fascination. Teams and their spectators were often interdependent for the sheer survival of the spectacles. Perhaps the idea of "team" also appealed to an audience constantly used to working in tandem in less ideally regulated circumstances. Victories would presumably be shared by team and fans alike, all associated rosily with the town. Whatever the motivation, in 1898 nothing matched hockey in spectator appeal or a town's identification with its sporting heroes.

The names of the senior teams for Edmonton and South Edmonton, the "Thistles" and "Shamrocks," associated them with the names of the rinks in which they practised. Civic aspirations were more aptly announced in the junior teams' names, the Edmonton "Stars" and the South Edmonton "Capitals". The senior teams struggled for the "Potter Cup" while even the public schools were represented by the rival hockey teams in the "Edmonton District Hockey League", striving to win a silver cup. Here was the competitive spirit exploited to the mutual benefit - one might even argue, the united benefit, since each fed on the presence of the other - of both communities.

Not only did the Edmonton Hockey Club have a rink lighted in the evenings, but in 1898 the Club provided playing uniforms with distinctive green and black colours for its teams. They were seen not only in South Edmonton but also in Calgary, with which centre, however, the traditional

conflict was still limited to one or two exchanges of games annually. Hockey was the only team sport sufficiently popular in the Edmontons to stimulate the formation at the year's end of a women's representative team, the "Lady Shamrocks", whose seventeen original members selected an amazingly complete executive of seven.²⁶ None of the other team sports inspired the same enthusiasm as did hockey.

Nevertheless, the same definite identification of teams with the community applied to the organization of soccer and cricket. Spontaneous soccer ("association football") matches did continue to be played - west end versus east end pick-up teams, for instance - but newspaper coverage was devoted to the fortunes of the Victoria Football Club, every bit as structured an organization as the Edmonton Hockey Club, perhaps even more so. Mayor Edmiston himself became president, in addition to serving on the Edmonton Cricket Club's "management committee." The extensive governing body was not matched, however, by the same natural civic rivalries in soccer as in hockey. The adversary most often faced by the Edmonton soccer team was an aggregation from Stony Plain to the west. The problem was not Edmonton's but simply the lack of competitors, for the Edmonton club sponsored two teams graded according to ability. The second of these was reduced to engaging the public school team for competition; the first team sometimes took on a so-called "old school" team. Edmonton's soccer enthusiasts were ready and willing to represent Edmonton before audiences, but in 1898 opportunities rarely arose.²⁷ Soccer's lack illustrated well the importance of a rival to

attract spectators for an eager urban representative team. The same situation prevented local rugby players from finding a competitor any closer than Regina.²⁸

The Edmonton Cricket Club faced a similar predicament: the ambitious organization at the local level apropos of civic representation in inter-community play which almost never materialized. The best opposition to be mustered in 1898 was from Fort Saskatchewan in competition for a cup offered the champion by the relevant committee responsible for that aspect of the "Dominion Day Sports" extravaganza. Despite twice weekly practices, the cricket team might as well, in the prairie vacuum, have remained as unorganized in the Edmontons as were the familiar games of baseball and lacrosse. Many cricket games played in 1898 were such casual affairs as the August match pitting men over thirty against men under thirty years of age.²⁹

Even so, the Edmontons stood on the threshold of substantial development in spectator sport, the purchase of vicarious competitive experience by a populace well used to consumption of others' products or services. One indicator was the newspaper coverage of sports events, not developed to the extent of a separate page for sports news, but certainly at the point of keen regular attention to those contests which were organized. The batting and bowling averages of the cricket players so solemnly published at year's end must suggest the coming seriousness with which more and more representative sport would be treated. True, few sport professionals performed in the Edmontons in 1898, and they did so only fleet-

ingly in the style of a wonderful display, like "world amateur skating champion" J. K. McCullough. Edmontonians were sports consumers only in the initial stages, even as Edmonton was urban only in embryo form, but it was a year of great expectations.

One popular form of sports participation and especially of spectatorship in these small towns was the sports day usually organized on the special occasion of a statutory holiday. Planning for Dominion Day was entrusted by Edmonton town Council to a plethora of committees, all responsible to a supervisory executive committee for athletics, racing and track events. The Dominion Day program was staged north of the river for both South Edmonton and Edmonton as well as for people of the surrounding regions. No other occasion could rival the Dominion Day weekend for athletic striving. On June 30 and July 1, team matches in football, baseball and cricket were staged at the same time as bicycle and horse races, track and field competitions (known as "athletic sports") and a gun club tournament. All the physical efforts were enlivened by the music of the Edmonton brass band, the St. Albert mission band and a Highland piper in costume. The presence of the musicians added spectacle to the competition. And, in fact, 1,500 spectators were reported to have attended on June 30 (a Thursday) and 3,000 on Friday. Even allowing for occasional repeat counts of individuals leaving, then returning, these figures indicate either a marked involvement of the towns' residents and gold-hunting transients, or a considerable drawing power on the farmers of the surrounding country-

side - in either case, a significant demonstration of urban function.³⁰ The consumers, apparently, liked the smorgasbord format of sports delights.

It was repeated on two other occasions. For the Queen's birthday on May 24, a South Edmonton Sports Committee planned the horse, foot and bicycle races for prizes at the South Edmonton Agricultural Society Grounds. In the fall, the South Edmonton Agricultural Society Exhibition provided much the same recreation. Though they were staged on one side or other of the river, and involved athletic rivalries, there was no mistaking the single community those celebrations served. One might even speculate about the overall camaraderie fostered by the keen competitive edge, developed initially between adversaries on the field, when it was carried over into subsequent barroom fist fighting, wrestling and general rough and tumble.³¹

Substantial public organization for recreation along traditional lines established elsewhere belied the small population of the Edmontons in 1898. Was all that collective form necessary in so intimate a community? Yet complex organizational structure held the promise of greater variety and professionalism in the future for the benefit of increasing crowds of spectators. The opportunity for vicarious enjoyment would depend on doing away with village intimacy. The trend was clear, as long as the expected boom of the Edmontons materialized.

Footnotes

1. For a discussion of some of these ideas, with footnotes to other references, see Carl Betke, "The Social Significance of Sport in the City: Edmonton in the 1920s," in A. R. McCormack and Ian Macpherson, eds., Cities in the West (Ottawa, National Museums of Canada, 1975), 212-213, 222-223.
2. Edmonton Bulletin (EB), December 20, 1897, January 10, 20, 27, February 3, 17, 24, October 24, November 21, December 1, 8, 19, 1898.
3. EB, January 6, February 3, March 14, April 21, 28, June 27, October 24, 31, December 8, 29, 1898; Alberta Plaindealer (AP), February 3, March 3, 1898.
4. EB, May 16, 23, June 20, July 11, 1898; AP, May 18, 1898.
5. EB, August 15, September 8, 15, October 10, November 7, 1898; AP, May 25, 1898.
6. EB, January 17, July 14, 18, 25, September 5, 15, 1898.
7. EB, January 10, February 3, March 14, 31, April 14, 1898.
8. EB, March 28, 1898.
9. EB, November 21, 25, 1898.
10. AP, March 30, 1898.
11. EB, January 13, 17, 31, March 17, 28, May 5, 1898.
12. EB, January 17, February 14, 17, 24, May 12, 1898.
13. EB, July 4, 21, August 4, 8, September 8, 26, December 15, 19, 1898.
14. EB, August 18, 29, 1898; AP, August 19, 1898.
15. AP, June 29, September 9, 16, 1898; EB, June 13, 27, 1898.
16. EB, June 23, 27, July 11, 14, 1898.
17. EB, February 3, June 6, 13, 20, 27, 1898.
18. EB, January 31, September 12, 19, 1898.
19. EB, May 12, 16, June 16, 1898. On the Canadian Wheelmen's Association and the popularity of cycling, see S. F. Wise, "Sport and Class Values in Old Ontario and Quebec," in W. H. Heick and Roger Graham, eds., His Own Man: Essays in Honour of Arthur Reginald Marsden Lower (Montreal/London, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974), 113.
20. EB, April 21, May 2, 5, 9, June 23, July 18, September 12, 1898.

21. EB, July 11, September 12, 1898; AP, July 6, September 16, 1898.
22. EB, March 31, June 2, 27, July 4, 1898; AP, July 6, 1898.
23. EB, April 18, May 12, 1898.
24. EB, January 10, March 24, April 4, November 3, 1898.
25. EB, January 27, February 3, 24, 1898.
26. EB, January 27, February 7, 14, March 7, 10, October 10, November 3, December 29, 1898; AP, February 24, March 10, December 23, 1898.
27. EB, May 12, 16, 23, 26, June 13, 23, September 12, 19, 1898.
28. EB, September 15, 1898.
29. EB, April 26, June 24, July 11, August 4, 11, 1898; AP, May 25, 1898.
30. EB, June 27, July 4, 1898; AP, July 13, 1898.
31. EB, May 23, 26, 30, June 9, October 6, 1898; AP, May 11, 1898; W. A. Griesbach, I Remember (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1946), 189-190.

SECTION TWO: EDMONTON IN 1906

Chapter 8: The People.

Edmonton in 1906 had changed dramatically from its humble nineteenth century state, and the principal dynamic was immigration. In Edmonton city were counted 11,167 residents; in Strathcona town 2,921: in all, over 14,000 citizens of whom four-fifths were new-comers since 1898. The late nineteenth century stability suggested by the presence in 1898 of equal numbers of males and females was replaced by the frontier condition indicated by a clear majority of men over women. Nearly 60 percent of the population was male in 1906. Among the 2,749 family units reported must have been plenty of unattached men, far fewer single women. The booming urban centres were set in the midst of a prospering agricultural countryside where two or three times the farmers laboured in 1906 as had in 1901; still, the city - particularly Edmonton proper - outdistanced the country in rate of population growth.¹

Not just the expansion, but the expansionism of the towns is strikingly illustrated by an analysis of the activities represented in the business directory section of Henderson's Directory for 1906. While many entrepreneurs still supplied domestic goods or services, and many professionals practised, the dramatic escalation since 1898 had taken place in the fields related to property development. Their proportions of the town's business in 1898 had seemed insignificant, but in 1906 real estate agencies (seventy-three), building con-

tractors (forty-three), building material merchants (twenty-three) and insurance agencies (twenty-nine) dominated advertising. Expansion of population and accommodation had shown a very specific source of profit in the Edmontons.²

Edmonton city, excluding Strathcona, was sufficiently impressive numerically to warrant a directory which listed a specific address for each entry. It gives evidence of definite division of the population into more and less well-to-do residential locations. West of First Street, especially the first six streets, and particularly south of Jasper Avenue, close to the North Saskatchewan River banks, was the domain of prosperous businessmen, professionals and senior civil servants. (See map on page 277.) East of First Street and mainly north of Jasper Avenue were the labourers, tradesmen, marginal businessmen and alien ethnic newcomers. A larger proportion of the prosperous lived in the east end, however, than could be found of the less well-off in the west end, for many established veterans continued to reside in the area which had once been the village core, but which was now rarely chosen by well-healed newcomers. Some of the older residents in the east end were less than pleased with the transformation they thought they perceived taking place. Two delegations protested the granting of a liquor license to the new International Hotel situated at the corner of east end Boyle and Kinistino Streets.

The ground of objection taken was that the hotel was in the midst of a Galician settlement, and the bar of the hotel would be patronized by these Galicians and made a resort by them. Messrs. Bishop, Blaney and others claimed that the Galicians were very unruly when under the influence of strong drink.

The congratulation of the provincial government and Premier Rutherford by the Bulletin editor for "the establishment of the Galatian [sic] schools in the district north of the C.N.R." was a positive manifestation of that attitude.³

Despite the entry of more European immigrants into Edmonton than ever before, the nature of the city was, if anything, even more predominantly Anglo-Saxon than it had been before the turn of the century. This is explained by the relatively static situation of the French speaking population, whose strength of better than 500 comprised a decreasing proportion of the total, swelling as that was with people of Anglo-Saxon origin. Putting a generous construction on the matter, one might credit to the French population five percent of the whole; all other ethnic groups together certainly no more than ten percent. Of the latter element, those with Germanic names made up roughly half. These would presumably have been born in German, Austro-Hungarian, American or Canadian territories. A German community was clearly visible: there were German Lutheran and Baptist clergymen serving both sides of the river, a thriving German "Edelweiss" Club, a German Book Store and a locally published German language newspaper called the Alberta Herold.

Other groups had so far been institutionally almost as unnoticeable as they were numerically - two or three hundred people of Slavic or other east European extraction, fewer than a hundred each of Scandinavians, Jews, East Asians and Dutch. But Jews and certain east European groups had just created religious congregations - a first toehold - while the more all

embracing Catholic congregation found it necessary to arrange sermons in seven languages - French, English, German, Polish, Galician, Ruthenian and Cree. Laundry and restaurant services were favourite and obvious Chinese enterprises, and the Chinese were inevitably curiosities of special interest. That Chinese individuals were robbed, shot at, engaged in street fighting, and charged with violating the Lord's Day Act for carrying a bundle of laundry along a downtown street were stories reported with relish. Fascination about what might be going on in the back rooms of Chinese restaurants was as keen in 1906 as it was in the early 1890s. According to one report, a police raid on four Chinese restaurants uncovered a "regular hop-joint in full swing" in one of them, and plentiful supplies of beer, whiskey, "the solace of the poppie of India" and women.⁴

The Ukrainian peoples - mainly from the Austro-Hungarian province of Galicia - who had been streaming into Alberta for almost a decade had for the most part bypassed Edmonton itself in favour of nearby farm land, but certain urban institutions were beginning to appear. Neither Russian nor Ukrainian Orthodox Church organization had yet been established, but the Roman Catholic church had given attention particularly to those of Greek Catholic background. Basilian missionaries since late 1902 attracted Ukrainians to St. Joachim's and St. Anne's parishes with Ukrainian language masses and music, and they stimulated the construction of the separate St. Josephat's church in 1904. They were accompanied by four teaching Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate who, while they themselves learned

English in 1902-3, taught Edmonton Ukrainian youth the formal language, church music, folk songs, religion and handicrafts. Absent at the Beaver Lake settlements near Mundare after 1903, on their return to St. Josephat's church in 1905 they initiated daily comprehensive instruction for Ukrainian language pupils. Simultaneously, fledgling cultural institutions appeared. In individual homes were established two or three "Chytalnia" (cultural) societies, in which Paul Rudyk seems to have been instrumental. Rudyk was the merchant and real estate dealer responsible for the construction of that east end International Hotel, the licensing of which surrounding residents had unsuccessfully resisted. Rudyk's home was also, however, apparently the site of the origin of a Ukrainian Labour Fraternity ("Rivnist") which would, among other things, have the effect of fostering socialist ideals.⁵

In August, 1906 ten Jewish Edmontonians gathered to found the Edmonton Hebrew Association. Much of the drive was supplied by three key Jewish individuals: Abraham Cristall, William Diamond and Hyman Goldstick. Cristall, elected president, was a veteran of a childhood of poverty in Bessarabia on the banks of the Dniester before developing a prospering business career in Edmonton from an 1893 cartage business through a general store and finally the "Cristall Palace" clothing store and considerable real estate holdings. His isolation from a substantial Jewish community had driven him and his family temporarily to San Francisco, from where they had just returned. Diamond, the vice-president, was another clothing merchant, an aggressive newcomer from Calgary. Goldstick,

a native of Courland (later Latvia), had come to Edmonton, by way of Germany, England, New York, New Jersey and Toronto, specifically to take on the formal teaching and religious leadership duties for the Association and the Edmonton Hebrew Congregation of Beth Israel it fostered. To Goldstick fell the task of uniting the peoples of sundry geographic and religious traditions for the common cause.⁶

The alien presence, though still rather small, would have been quite noticeable for its strangeness. Something different was happening to the French speaking community. Despite - or in response to - its proportional decline, it was in its most determined organizational period. Its leadership maintained close social contact by frequent private "soirees," usually card parties followed by musical presentations and refreshments. The entire French language community celebrated important anniversaries together, most notably Saint Jean Baptiste Day, when the range of fellowship was extended to encompass French speaking Catholics in several nearby villages. The Saint Jean Baptiste Society was never stronger in Edmonton. A new communications medium for the separate French community appeared in September, 1905 to continue publication until early 1916. Le Courrier de L'Ouest was founded by general merchant Prosper Edmond Lessard and Dr. Phillippe Roy, the former soon to become a provincial cabinet minister, the latter a Senator from the date of the Alberta provincial inauguration in September 1905 and "perhaps the dominant political personality" of French Edmonton. A medical graduate from Laval University in Quebec, as soon as he arrived in Edmonton

Roy saw his role as the protector of local French rights through the agency of the Liberal party.⁷

The effort at cultural survival in such a diminishing proportional position seemed to require a strong drive for good relations with non-French speaking Edmonton. The good will of the majority was essential; so too was cooperation to ensure the successful development as a whole of the society in which they formed a distinctive part. There was some social exchange between French and English language elites, enough to result in a number of marriage ties despite apparent warnings of Catholic clergymen who worried that the French language would in this way court the danger of local disappearance. Helen Young, daughter of the well-known senior Hudson's Bay Company official, Harrison Young, married Dr. Phillippe Roy. Beatrice and Margaret Beck were daughters of crown prosecutor Nicholas D. Beck, soon to be appointed Supreme Court Judge. Beatrice became the wife of H. Milton Martin, whose real estate and other business involvements left him time to act as Belgian consul. Margaret married barrister John C. Landry. The secretary-treasurer of Le Courier de L'Ouest, Adeodat Boileau, married Ethel Finn. Some of these alliances linked French speaking Edmonton families to important Edmonton families of the past and future. Roy's daughter, for example, could trace family connections through the Young family and the missionary McDougalls to Lord Strathcona and the Lougheeds; her marriage would eventually bring her into the Southam family.⁸

As some of their priests evidently feared, such close

relationships between important French and English language families tended to favour the language of the dominant population, while the brave efforts to maintain certain separate institutions would gradually lose their significance in the face of mounting non-French immigration. But in 1906 they were quite noticeable, responding with energy to the challenge posed by the issue of French language rights in the proposed new province of Alberta two years earlier. Before the federal government decided to continue the practice of a 1901 ordinance by which separate schools were allowed to teach only a primary grade in French, Edmonton's Saint Jean Baptiste Society had petitioned Laurier for full constitutional recognition in Alberta of French as an official language and language of school instruction.⁹ The memory of that stand seems to have sustained a vigorous community for some years to follow.

The traditional residential focus of French Edmontonians in the far west vicinity of St. Joachim's parish continued, but many were scattered throughout the city. Quite a number were successful professionals or businessmen, of course, who took their places among the substantial dwellings of the nearer west end dominated by the prosperous English speaking set. In contrast, few among the ethnically alien newcomers found their homes in that relatively exclusive neighbourhood in 1906; most of them were labourers or tradesmen.¹⁰ Had there been lawyers among them, they would in any case have had to compete with an apparent surfeit of those professionals from Ontario, at such a level that many incoming lawyers simply passed on through rather than attempt to

compete.¹¹ More than forty resided in Edmonton alone; over three quarters of those for whom addresses were given lived in the west end. A nearly similar distribution was true for medical doctors' residences. Very few of either profession lived or centred their practices in Strathcona. Especially for professionals, financiers and senior civil servants, but largely for businessmen as well, the upper class residential focus was north of the river, west of First Street and south of Jasper Avenue.¹²

Biographical sources containing names of individuals recognized to be examples of local success in 1906 or soon afterward give us about 175 family units to consider. Of these, 108 could be connected with specific addresses in Henderson's Directory: those who lived at indeterminable locations in Strathcona must unfortunately be left out of the discussion. Of the 108 north siders, however, about 60 percent lived in the west end. The minority, usually newer and single, who boarded, roomed or lived at their places of business helped to swell the east end proportion. The hotels were mainly in the east end. So also were the majority of new, struggling businessmen, as opposed to the professionals or prosperous businessmen who were clustered in the west. In this broad category of Edmonton's public, professional and commercial leadership, it is clear, many in the east end were probably there by necessity rather than by choice. To put it another way, adding to the over-all proportion of those who were in the west end those who would reasonably aspire to get there,

one would arrive at a proportion much greater than sixty per cent. It is reasonable to assume that as they became established, many situated in temporary circumstances in the east would move into the west end or other upper income residential areas as they developed.¹³

Although some of the individuals included in the biographical sources had not by 1906 achieved irreversible prosperity or social stature, the great majority were representative of Edmonton's occupational leaders. General information emerging about them might well apply to a much wider group, although one still small enough to constitute Edmonton's successful commercial and professional upper class. The 175 family heads described would amount to about six percent of the total in Edmonton and Strathcona together, but might be representative of five, ten or fifteen percent more.¹⁴

The average age of these leaders (including those who had come before or during 1898 and were still in Edmonton) was forty in 1906. Among the veterans who were already in Edmonton by 1898 the average age was forty-six; for those who came later it was thirty-five. Taken together, though, they were about the same age as the comparable group in 1898, in the vigorous prime of their careers. Fewer than one-tenth were over fifty-five; more than half thirty-six to fifty-five; well over one-third twenty to thirty-five. The average date of their arrivals in Edmonton or Strathcona was 1897, when their mean age was thirty-one, little older than their counterparts had been in 1898. The majority of the 1906 group had come after 1898; these were about thirty-three on arrival and resident in Edmon-

ton only two and one-half years by 1906.¹⁵ The overall average was created, that is to say, by a balance of veterans with newcomers, which should alert us to the possibility of a somewhat unstable leadership or, if not that, a miraculous unanimity of ambitions or a temporary retention of established leadership. It is worth keeping in mind, too, that three-quarters of Edmonton's population (including Strathcona's) was new since 1898. This overwhelming quantitative overweight to the incoming flood is not reflected in the biographical sample. Thus the short Edmonton experience of the newcomers attains special significance when spread over so large a proportion of all 1906 businessmen, professionals and public servants.

The newcomers were even more predominantly from other parts of Canada, especially Ontario, than were their predecessors. More than three-quarters were Canadian born, more than one-half Ontario born. Most of the remainder were born in Great Britain (none in Ireland). Fewer of the newcomers' mothers and fathers were born in Great Britain, more in Canada. Their central and maritime "Canadianism" therefore had deeper roots. Still, about half the parents for whom the information is available had been born in Great Britain, half in Canada, a greater proportion of mothers than fathers Canadian born.¹⁶ The fathers' occupations were much the same as for the fathers of those who arrived by 1898: nearly one-half of those reported were farmers, one-fifth businessmen of varying scale, and one-tenth each were professionals, tradesmen or government employees. A slight increase in the means of the 1906 fathers over the 1898 sample was barely perceptible. Independent

livelihoods and the absence of the urban poor and labouring classes still characterized the fathers of the incoming business and professional leaders of Edmonton.¹⁷

The newcomers brought a different balance of religious affiliations. Whereas in 1898 Presbyterians were unchallenged in their primacy, with only Catholics and Anglicans significantly represented in diminishing order of importance, in 1906 the Presbyterian dominance and the Catholic presence were eroded by increased numbers of Anglicans and Methodists. Presbyterians were still the largest group, at over two-fifths of the total, but one-quarter of the sample were Anglicans and one-sixth were Methodists. Catholics fell from one-quarter of the 1898 group to one-tenth of the 1906 group as a result of very few additions in the interim. Protestants were even more firmly in charge in Edmonton in 1906, and the balance among Presbyterians, Anglicans and Methodists had become somewhat closer than previously, although Presbyterians were still by far the most noticeable.¹⁸ Again, since old-timers were disproportionately represented in this 1906 sample, the changes after 1898 would probably be emphasized more than the mere statistics indicate.

More of the newcomers grew up in Ontario specifically and in Canada generally than of old-timers. The effect was simply to strengthen the pattern already established. Nearly four-fifths of the sample were now Canadian raised, over one-half in Ontario. British childhoods were proportionately fewer - a mere one-sixth - to make up for the Canadian increase. The educational level was gradually rising, over half in 1906

having gone beyond high school. Universities, particularly professional schools, were sending a greater proportion of graduates, while fewer with trade school, apprenticeship or business college training entered Edmonton's prosperous class. The majority still grew up in rural or village settings, but the proportion from town or city boyhoods was increasing.¹⁹

The adult careers of most before coming to Edmonton or Strathcona involved, as in the Edmonton of 1898, time in Ontario or the Canadian west or both. Many other locations were visited, but these amounted altogether to about the same statistical significance as each of the former two areas alone. Either in one of these places or in Edmonton later (very few), most took wives who were generally Canadian in origin, almost half from Ontario. A few were British born, a few western Canadian residents. They were in background very similar to their spouses. Relatively young, but not straight from their education or training, half of the future Edmontonians left their original occupations to come to Edmonton or Strathcona. Nearly one-third came from two separate prior livelihoods. Only a few came directly to their first positions in Edmonton, or on the other hand, after a restless search through three or four preliminary experiences. Most had demonstrated or were demonstrating their willingness to move for better opportunity, but had not shown excessive readiness to leap from enterprise to enterprise for short terms.²⁰

When they came to Edmonton or Strathcona they were, perhaps even more so than their peers who came before the agricultural boom, outsiders perceiving vacuums they might

successfully fill. This was not to be, for the time being, a city built from the surrounding population; rather, the prosperity of its leading citizens would depend on filling the countryside with new settlers. In Edmonton and Strathcona the service occupations were characteristic of leading citizens in the biographical sample to an even greater extent than in 1898. Four-fifths of those recorded were engaged in professions (29%), trade (14%), real estate and financial services (14%), and other services (21% - half in the newly arrived phenomenon, government). Government positions (11%), in fact, outnumbered businessmen in agriculture - related manufacturing or sales enterprises (9%) or construction related endeavours (8%). All other occupation categories were virtually unrepresented.²¹

During the Christmas season of 1905 there appeared for the first time in Edmonton The Saturday News, a weekly newspaper edited and managed by a former editor of the Woodstock (Ontario) Sentinel-Review, A. Balmer Watt. The new Edmonton newspaper featured a substantial women's section The Mirror, written by the editor's wife who signed her column "Peggy". The subsection entitled "Home and Society" was devoted to details of the entertainments indulged in principally by those women who associated with one another in the guise of Edmonton's embryo elite. These social contacts may reveal - imperfectly perhaps, but as one kind of evidence - the degree to which there was some distinction between Edmonton's merely well-to-do and a smaller social elite. In these columns may be found both the identities of the members and some-

thing of their extra-occupational diversions and preoccupations.²²

Certain prescribed types of entertainment filled their social calendars. In the afternoons ladies would announce their intentions of being "at home" to receive invited guests in their drawing rooms and to take tea and coffee in elaborately decorated tea rooms. The easily caricatured procedure was always the same, involving a number of assistants besides the hostess. On one occasion, for example, "Mrs. Dr. Ferris' pretty home on Fifth St. was the Mecca towards which many wended their way to have a pleasant chat over the 'teacups' and a gracious greeting from the hostess of the afternoon."

In the tea-room Mrs. Saunders, Mrs. Braithwaite, Mrs. Mays, Mrs. Pardee and Mrs. McPherson took turns in relieving each other pouring tea and coffee. Mrs. Turnbull presided at a side table where the ices were served.

.
Miss Ferris, Miss Taylor, Miss Lynch and Miss Willis were four pretty and attentive assistants.

During the afternoon Clark's Orchestra played a varied programme of selections, adding very much to what proved a very jolly and enjoyable "At Home."²³

Postal incompetence came in for severe criticism when it once seemed responsible for the disastrous failure of ten invitations to reach their destinations.²⁴ "Recherche" luncheons might occasionally vary the fare for ladies, but tea was usually the focus for day-time receptions. The "younger set" were sometimes treated to special tea arrangements as well.

The first opportunities were provided in 1906 for larger symbolic public displays of this kind of social activity as a result of the elevation of Edmonton to the status of capital city. Occasional formal official receptions were

henceforth offered at Government House, and the first of these on the afternoon of February 15 was alleged to have "caused quite a flutter in social circles," whose "fair women and dignified cavaliers turned out en masse to grace the occasion." Except that gentlemen joined the ladies for this grand version, it resembled the smaller "At Homes" to a remarkable degree. Lieutenant-Governor and Mrs. Bulyea "received their callers at the entrance to the drawing-room, Mrs. Bulyea looking exceedingly well in a handsome costume of white embroidered cashmere," while "in the tearoom several young gentlemen looked after the comfort of the guests."²⁵ The social behaviour of the official leading couple in the capital city thus sanctioned and set the standard for entertainments of those with pretensions to similar if not equal status.

Another reception was held at Government House on a December evening, the difference being that guests enjoyed the "freedom of the house" and the availability of such diversions as the Billiard Room. Once again this can be seen as a highly polished version of more widespread evening private parties where the card game known as "500" was in 1906 "quite the rage in Edmonton, all other games of cards giving way before it." One such evening in March at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Donald MacDonald "was a most delightful one, everyone enjoyed the keenly contested games, which resulted in several of the guests winning very handsome prizes. A dainty supper concluded what proved a very enjoyable evening."²⁶

In larger numbers, all joined together to attend dances given, sometimes by the Mounted Police officers and men at

Fort Saskatchewan where "the mess-room was decorated in true military style, swords and guns playing a large part in the general scheme," sometimes by the "Bachelors of Edmonton" or the "Bachelor Maids," sometimes by private groups of individuals:

Never in its long and eventful history did Robertson's Hall present a gayer picture than on Tuesday evening [February 27] when five [sic] of Edmonton's most popular "boys," Messers Mowat, Biggar, H. W. Supple, Harry Cooper, Richard Hardisty and J. K. Kennedy not to forget an equally good fellow, Mr. J. K. Cornwall were "At Home" at a jolly dance to their numerous friends....promptly at half-past eight as Mr. and Mrs. Richardson stuck up the first note of one of the popular dances, the old hall presented such a charming womanhood, lovely gowns and gay young cavaliers as did one good to see. Everyone came expecting a jolly evening and it is safe to say not one left disappointed.

W. A. Griesbach, a favourite of "The Mirror's" editor in the social news, and the Mayoralty candidate who at year's end received the backing of The Saturday News, characterized the inaugural Lieutenant-Governor's "Grand Ball in the Thistle Rink, at which all the men wore tails and the women wore imported costumes" as an attempt at "the very latest thing in entertainments of that sort."

There were programmes with rendezvous stations; both men and women wore gloves and there was a state set of Lancers. In fact, nothing was left undone that anyone had ever heard of as being done in the more fashionable centres of the east....We felt that we had definitely been launched as a social centre.²⁷

The specific identity of the hosts was unimportant; if dances were reported in The Mirror they tended to include much the same guests each time. They had the advantage over private card parties of exercise and the opportunity to bring the entire elite community together in one of the halls or the ele-

gant Prince Arthur Cafe.

The last establishment, immodestly boasting a "high class character" unmatched in Canada west of Toronto, was often also the scene of luncheons or dinners for groups of influential men of the city, particularly when an important Edmontonian or visitor was to be honoured. When the general manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce arrived, for instance, he was tendered a "most elaborate luncheon" in the banquet hall of the Prince Arthur Cafe before meeting at a private dinner Premier Rutherford, Mayor May, Mr. Justice Scott and several prominent professional businessmen of Edmonton. The Prince Arthur did have a "Rose Pink Room or Ladies' Parlour," and ladies' luncheons did occasionally take place at "Cronn's" (R. B. Cronn was proprietor of the Alberta Cafe²⁸), but for the most part, during the daytime, the elite luncheons of Edmonton's ladies and gentlemen were segregated, ladies' at home, gentlemen's downtown.

Finally, the social veneer could be detected as well in some reports of athletic events. Peculiarly little or nothing was made of horsemanship among Edmonton's elite, in striking contrast to the situation in Calgary.²⁹ Nevertheless, the social elite assembled together for other activities: in private skating parties and within the organization of cricket, golf and the Anglican St. Paul's clubs for athletic and quieter recreations. Cricket, wrote the Saturday News editor, would of all sports impart to Edmonton the greatest benefit.

By it we can attract men from all parts of the Empire and strengthen the Imperial bond, as we can in hardly any other way. Why is it that Australia

up till recent years has been closer to the heart of the Britisher than our own country? Principally because of the cricket matches between British and Australian teams. Much as we admire our friends across the line, and heartily as we desire to welcome them as citizens, we do not want the Canadian west to become Americanized. We want it to develop along British lines in sport as in other things.

Whatever else it might mean, "British lines" for Edmontonians involved a genteel approach to cricket. At Edmonton cricket games tea would be served between innings under the presiding guidance of one of the same ladies who practised the technique "at home."³⁰ Many of those ladies were active golfers, the club organization of that sport suiting particularly well the social needs of Edmonton's elite.

"At home" tea receptions, luncheons, card parties, dances, cricket - all gave prominent place to one particular characteristic: display, or facade. The Mirror's editor might bravely declare her pleasure with the relative absence of facade in ordinary business dealings in Edmonton. No Edmonton woman taking in boarders, she contended, would use the "eastern" excuse of doing it for the need of company. "Your future house mistress doesn't evade the point that she is in it for the money," nor would an Edmonton wash woman submit to "the unsatisfactory home request of giving for the family wash whatever I see fit. It's business and straight talk in Edmonton."³¹ But on the other hand, she was immediately sensitive to any criticism of the social devices of polite conversation or entertainment rituals common in her own social circle. When she learned that one "authoress" was basing a lecture tour on decrying "blimming," or "talking pleasantly and saying

nothing," Mrs. Watt reacted with the defensive observation that "to be popular, and who doesn't covet that epithet, means ... 'blimming' and keeping the world off."³² That last objective might be sought by a whole social set as well as by an individual member of it.

Again, when an Ontario editor criticized Toronto newspapers for publishing too much frivolous "society news" with the effect of glossing over the sordid realities which might underlie the facade, the Mirror editor castigated the "stupid man" for wanting "to know what's better left untold."³³ How much better to strive in entertainment for ethereal heights approaching the perfect realm of fantasy. Should the display at the functions themselves fall at all short of the mark, they were embellished to the necessary degree in the newspaper reports. Both surroundings and ladies' attire received the full treatment. "The tea table was the daintiest imaginable;" the decorations "formed the prettiest effects possible," and the "daintily pretty little hostess" herself "looked a picture" in all descriptions. Never did any of these effects fail to attain the ultimate superlative in the columns of The Saturday News. At the first Government House reception,

The tea-table was a piece de resistance, in the centre being a large cut-glass bowl of calla lillies, resting on a centre-piece of filmy Teneriffe lace. Running diagonally across the table were wide ribbon streamers of pale green satin caught at the corners in huge bows, the soft light shed from the dome electrolier in art tones of pale yellow blending with the tints of the red and yellow wall decorations, completing a very attractive picture....Among the callers...I noticed Mrs. Cross looking stunning in a dainty gown of cream voile, with the jauntiest of little French hats white, with trimmings of pale blue and a huge knot of exquisite violets.³⁴

Reports of dances included ecstatic descriptions of one costume after another. These were intelligent people, one should never forget, and the spectacle was carried on in full knowledge of its artificiality. It could even be the object of an appreciative chuckle. One gentleman was allowed to present his male parody of the social descriptions to The Mirror's readers; it detracted not a whit from the subsequent continuation of the same kinds of affairs and reports of them.

Mr. Harrison, although late, was as per usual very popular. He was particularly talkative and at making eyes was a decided success. His clothes were very neat and his pretty collar buttons were much admired. He was dressed in black and had boots on. Mr. Hector L. Landry looked awfully sweet, and we understand had a "bird of a time." His pretty diamond was much admired. Wore shoes. Mr. Billie Lines looked quite sweet in black, decorated with an awfully cute tie. His pretty compliments were much appreciated. Mr. A. Morton Brown was particularly noticed by his absence.

And so on.³⁵

This amused glance at their social diversions should not detract us from a serious look at the people who carried them on and thought of themselves as forming the leadership of the city. The care taken to elevate their style of entertainment above the norm ought to alert us to their sense of their own special importance. At the most, 180 of those family units mentioned in The Mirror's columns could be identified with reasonable assurance by reference to Henderson's Directory as Edmonton or Strathcona residents or businessmen. Only six of these were Strathconans, for which the explanation can only be conjecture. Perhaps there was a parallel, well-defined, separate Strathcona elite on a smaller scale, or perhaps the

same sort of social cohesion did not exist in the same way south of the river. Three of the six Strathconans, and perhaps 25 of the 180 total, made the list solely by virtue of invitation to the Lieutenant-Governor's reception without having been mentioned in connection with the private affairs. The total of 180 is a generous estimation, therefore, of Edmonton's social elite as defined by its entertainment circle.

Because the identifications by name sometimes involved choosing among several alternatives complicated by spelling abbreviations or lack of given initials, statistical observations about them must remain a little imprecise. This does not prevent recognition of clear patterns. Occupationally, professionals were markedly predominant. The group included not only the majority of the lawyers and doctors available, but also many accountants, several surveyors and engineers, and the occasional architect, dentist and teacher. Only one clergyman, Anglican Rev. Henry Allan Gray, was ever mentioned. Bank and other finance executives stood out in the ranks. Businessmen were not so strongly represented, although those associated with property development - contractors, hardware merchants, real estate and insurance entrepreneurs - were. There were several general merchants, but only a scattered sample of most other sorts of businessmen. Some senior officials in the new provincial civil service joined a number of federal public servants. Virtually no skilled artisans were on the list, certainly no labourers.

A number of individuals were young men just making a beginning. Many of them were clerks in the banks, other

finance-related businesses, or provincial government departments. Besides the professions, therefore, perhaps the next most eligible career was in the financial field - the object to become a bank executive or accountant. It was thus no accident that lawyer W. A. Griesbach experimented first as a bank clerk before choosing law. Indeed, a military-style paternalism evidently protected the dignity of such a calling. Young clerks, we are told, were not allowed to marry until they were able to prove a certain level of personal financial solvency, exactly the same kind of responsibility demanded by British armed forces units and the Royal North West Mounted Police.³⁶ To be an officer in a bank was only less gentlemanly a calling than to be a military officer.

This was obviously a very "urban" group, its connections with the surrounding rural staple occupations apparently remote. The professional, the financial and perhaps the property development services preoccupied most. There is a certain irony to this observation when coupled with the tantalizing indications that the largest single proportion of them grew up on Ontario farms. The necessary information to make this absolutely certain is not easily available for all of them, but for about one-quarter of the total we do have the evidence in the biographical sources of the time.³⁷ Nearly half of those for whom the record is available claimed farmers for fathers, although several went so far as to describe them as prosperous farmers. The next largest group of fathers (but an almost insignificantly small one) were clergymen, mainly Anglican. Only two of this sample could boast notably

prominent fathers. Dominion land agent Alexander Norquay's father had been Premier of Manitoba from 1878 to 1887; Bank of Montreal manager Edwin Charles Pardee's father had been an early Ontario cabinet minister.³⁸ Only two fathers in the restricted sample were military officers: lawyer W. A. Griesbach's father had been local divisional N.W.M.P. commanding officer; Anglican clergyman Henry Allan Gray's father was a British naval officer. This urban social elite of Edmonton may have been comprised for the most part of sons of farmers, clergymen and assorted humble businessmen of small-town Ontario, although such conjecture is easily deflated by reference to both the majority of fathers and all the mothers on whom no information is readily available.

They seem to have been staunchly Canadian. Two-thirds of the small portion of the Mirror sample for which biographical data can be analyzed were born in Ontario, another one-quarter in other parts of Canada, and only the remaining one-tenth in Great Britain.³⁹ The Ontario and Canadian preponderance gives special impetus to the aroused criticisms of certain immigrant Englishmen voiced in The Mirror. "No one has a greater admiration for our cousins over the water than I," began Mrs. Watt, "but you do resent the ill-breeding that seems to take particular delight in forever quoting the way one does such and such a thing in England, don't you know, to the disparagement of the methods employed under similar circumstances in Canada."⁴⁰ Perhaps the local irritation was only increased by the fact that the disdainful observations were coming from natives of the very society local social

leaders most desired to emulate, if not surpass. Certainly the ethnic background of nearly all those born in Canada was British, though by no means overwhelmingly English. Furthermore for those on whom reports survive (about one-fifth of the total), pretty well one-half were Presbyterians, one-third Anglicans, the few remaining divided among Catholics, Methodists and Baptists.⁴¹ From such a small proportion of the entire Mirror group it would be dangerous to make any more precise an observation than that Presbyterians and especially Anglicans appear to have had a far greater share of representation than was true for the general populace.

In comparison with the broader group identified in the biographies, this Mirror sample did not take public charge of civic leadership, whatever their influence might have been behind the scenes. In Strathcona, the Mirror "elite" had only two official civic representatives: Orlando Bush on the Public School Board and as President of the local Board of Trade; and Dr. S. Archibald as Health officer. No Strathcona alderman and only two of eight Edmonton aldermen (W. A. Griesbach and Robert Mays) were counted in The Mirror's social columns. Of the twenty top salaried civic officials in Edmonton, only two (city solicitor Nicholas D. Beck and medical health officer E. A. Braithwaite) represented this particular "elite." On the Edmonton Board of Trade (two vice-presidents and two of seven councillors) and the Edmonton Industrial Exhibition Association (four of nine Directors), representation would seem much better, but even that is misleading. Those two organizations were directed entirely by prominent Edmonton

entrepreneurs, and the majority of leading positions were still filled by individuals not mentioned in The Mirror. Perhaps there is some alternative significance to the fact that they were well-represented in the school boards where other successful businessmen were not.⁴² Perhaps they displayed a greater interest in educating Edmonton's society to their notion of its ideal behaviour.

If the social characteristics of the group identified in The Mirror were indeed different from those of the larger collection of successful men described in the biographical outlines, they may have instituted a distinctive group with a particular approach to social and even political leadership. Less business and more professionally oriented, at least as Canadian but perhaps with stronger attachments to British cultural baggage, and even more definitely concentrated in the west end of the city than the general group of successful men, they appeared to value genteel social cohesion above visible leadership in civic organizations. That they left a good deal of room for many others to have a hand in shaping Edmonton still begs the question to what extent their pretensions to form the urban leadership were realized in this period of rapid population growth.

Yet another analytical attempt to isolate an elite group in a community as young as the Edmontons might be made by studying the membership of a gentlemen's club not in existence in 1898: the Edmonton Club. By 1906 some 131 individuals had been granted membership, but of course some probably left town after joining or lived out of town; in any case

106 of the names were listed in Henderson's Edmonton and Strathcona Directories for 1906. Only two or three were from Strathcona; the group was almost exclusively comprised of northsiders. The great majority of their residences were in the west end, though not so marked a proportion as for those of The Mirror list. All the bank managers were included, as well as most of the lawyers; quite a number of doctors; several land surveyors, civil engineers and architects; a few building contractors and a number of merchants and manufacturers of building materials. The Lt. Governor, the Premier, some cabinet ministers and several provincial government employees were among them. A wide variety of small businessmen were represented, including some general merchants, real estate and insurance agents. The editors of the Journal and the Saturday News also belonged.⁴³

For about two-fifths of them biographical information is available. Predictably, the birthplace of just over half of them was Ontario; of one-sixth was the Maritime provinces; of one-seventh was Quebec; and of merely one-tenth was England. The remaining tenth were born in the west of Canada or in the United States. Almost half were professionals (the majority lawyers); just over a tenth were contractors and building material producers or merchants; nearly another tenth were real estate promoters. A full fifth were merchants of domestic goods and a tenth were provincial or federal government dignitaries. Professionals - especially lawyers - were substantially over-represented among the biographical subjects. Of the three-quarters of this partial sample who reported their formal reli-

gious affiliations, Anglicans were uncharacteristically over-represented with nearly two-fifths of the reporting members; Roman Catholics formed one-quarter, Presbyterians somewhat fewer than one-quarter. The few others were Baptists or Methodists.⁴⁴

Only one-fifth of the Edmonton Club members of 1906 made all three exclusive lists; but only one-eighth of each of the biographical subjects or the individuals listed by the Mirror were so universally selected. What is to be made of this lack of unanimity in the identification of Edmonton's socially most important citizens? Perhaps that in so rapidly expanding a centre it was not yet easy to sort out the socially superior from the ordinary. Or that large numbers had been in the towns for so short a period that they did not yet know one another well enough to have sorted out universally recognized social distinctions, although a substantial segment of the population obviously agreed on the desirability of such distinctions for themselves. The task was not made any easier by the relatively homogeneous and mainly non-upper class backgrounds of the contenders for the honours.

A limited range of social backgrounds was evident among those who were publicly prominent in 1906. William A. Griesbach was one of the few born in the west (at Ft. Qu'Appelle) whose English-born father (a North-West Mounted Police commanding officer) occupied a position of status. Griesbach's education was therefore completed at St. John's College in Winnipeg, after which he sampled both law and bank offices before settling on law. His background also encouraged him to serve

in the Canadian Mounted Rifles in the South African War and to place military command at the forefront of his interests. Another lawyer, Ontario-born William Short, moved to Calgary in the 1890s with a University of Toronto B. A. to study law, and then to Edmonton in 1894 to practise law and take a leading interest in civic affairs. Lawyers Albert F. Ewing and John R. Boyle both became Edmonton representatives in the provincial legislature, the one a Conservative and the other a Liberal, but both bringing Ontario experience. Ewing also had a University of Toronto degree, however, whereas Boyle began his legal training with a high school education and teaching experience.

But superior social background or education was clearly not a prerequisite for social success in Edmonton. The retiring and incoming Edmonton Board of Trade presidents, Alexander B. Campbell and Arthur T. Cushing, both Ontarions, had different levels of education, yet arrived at their positions in Edmonton by similar routes. Campbell established himself on the basis of his experience in his father's flour milling business. Cushing, despite his B. A., came to Edmonton because it seemed a logical place to expand his brother's Calgary lumber business. Edmonton's Mayor for 1906, Charles May, another Ontarion, having no more than public school education, transformed his Manitoba experience in homesteading, carpentry and railway construction into a building contractor's business when he moved to Edmonton in 1902. Strathcona Mayor William H. Sheppard left his Ontario public school education to work on railway construction projects in Ontario, the western American states and B. C. before setting up contracting and hotel businesses in

Alberta locations. He maintained a hotel in South Edmonton for ten years after 1894 and invested in a brewery in 1904 while participating actively in Strathcona civic affairs. The majority of those men were Ontario Presbyterians of a mixture of English, Scottish and Irish background; the notable exception was the Anglican, Griesbach.⁴⁵

Thus, for professionals, businessmen, financial careerists, property salesmen and builders there was not only economic but also social opportunity. The question of the community's leadership had apparently been opened up to some extent by the rapid influx of newcomers. For the large number in the right ethnic and denominational categories (British, including Canadian, and Presbyterian, Anglican, Methodist), in this period of unparalleled opportunity to take up "middle" class occupations and residential locations, a bold outlook to future economic and social advancement would not have been unrealistic. On the other hand, there was evidence that those who did not match up occupationally, ethnically or residentially occupied quite a separate world; that a recognizable chasm was developing between two parts of the Edmonton population.

Footnotes

1. Canada, Sessional Paper No. 17 (a), 6-7 Edward VII, 1907, Census of Population and Agriculture of the Northwest Provinces ...1906 (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1907), 70, 77, 101.

2. Computation of selected business categories for Edmonton and Strathcona advertised in the business directory section of Henderson's Manitoba and North West Territories Gazetteer and Directory for 1906.

3. Henderson's Manitoba and North West Territories Gazetteer and Directory for 1906, at 459-540 for Edmonton (hereafter referred to as Henderson's Edmonton Directory) and at 1117-1123 for Strathcona (hereafter referred to as Henderson's Strathcona Directory); Edmonton Bulletin, June 21 and 27, 1906. Because Strathcona had only one-quarter the population of Edmonton, it did not rate a listing by addresses nor was every household head included, particularly at the lower end of the socio-economic scale. The generalizations made here resulted from surveying the occupations listed according to residential area. Almost all "labourers", for example, lived in the east end; three-quarters of lawyers and doctors lived in the west end.

4. E. J. Hart, "The History of the French Speaking Community of Edmonton, 1795-1935" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1971), 59-60, 63-64; Elizabeth B. Gerwin, "A Survey of the German Speaking Population of Alberta" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1938), 109-110; Henderson's Edmonton and Strathcona Directories for 1906; Ban Seng Hoe, Structural Changes of Two Chinese Communities in Alberta, Canada (Ottawa, National Museum of Man Mercury Series, 1976), 74-5 and 291; Edmonton Bulletin, February 27, March 5, 7, 10, 24, May 1, June 5, 1906.

In the Edmonton directory, with a more complete listing than Strathcona's, one may count about 185 Germanic and 65 Slavic/East European names; about a dozen Jewish names and a few Italian, Scandinavian and Dutch names, as well as a few about which I am uncertain. This rough survey cannot possibly be precise, because names do not always tell the full family tale. It does, however, reveal an alien ethnic component (that is, non-French and non-British names) of less than ten percent in Edmonton for 1906. About 80 percent of those so categorized lived in the east end of the city. Some 13 Chinese or other East Asian names can also be isolated, with their occupations and mainly - though not entirely - east end addresses.

5. Michael H. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History (Winnipeg/Ottawa, Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970), 63-67, 102, 151-2, 167-9; J. Skwarok, The Ukrainian Settlers in Canada and their Schools...1891-1921 (Edmonton, Basilian Press of Toronto, Printers, 1958), 24-27, 32; Edmonton Bulletin, March 10, 1906.

6. Sid Bursten, "Edmonton: A Jewish Community in Perspective," The Jewish Post (March 3, 1966), 16; Tony Cashman, Abraham Cristall: The Story of a Simple Man (1963), 10-18; Taped interview with Hyman Goldstick by David Nelson, May 30 and June 5, 1973: Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton (hereafter referred to as P.A.A.).

7. Hart, "The History of the French Speaking Community," 59-75, 102-104.

8. Ibid., 75-77.

9. Ibid., 52-54.
10. See footnote 4 above.
11. The Edmonton newspaper, The Saturday News, December 23, 1905, blamed the overflow of lawyers on the notorious surplus in Ontario towns "for a long while back."
12. Henderson's Edmonton and Strathcona Directories for 1906 provide the identities of 45 lawyers. Three lived in Strathcona, seven east of 1st Street in Edmonton, 23 west of 1st Street and nine addresses were unlisted. Of 32 doctors, four lived in Strathcona, seven east of 1st Street, 17 west of 1st Street and four addresses were unlisted.
13. These conclusions derive from the evidence resulting from finding available 1906 addresses for those individuals described in the source identified in footnote 2 above; noting whether they were listed as boarders, roomers or householders in Henderson's Directory, and mapping them.
14. The authors of the biographical collections would be unlikely to have succeeded in securing information from all they judged potentially worthy of inclusion; on the other hand, they might have received much unsolicited information from others whose inclusion may not have been considered essential. The occupational categories into which the men fit were not by any means exhausted by those included, although in higher proportion for some (lawyers and doctors) than others.
15. See Appendix I, Tables A and B.
16. See Appendix I, Tables C and D.
17. See Appendix I, Table F.
18. See Appendix I, Table E.
19. See Appendix I, Tables G, H and I.
20. See Appendix I, Tables J, K and L.
21. See Appendix I, Table M.
22. The microfilmed copy of The Saturday News held at P.A.A. includes for 1906 all issues to and including May 19, and after and including September 15. The intervening summer issues are unfortunately missing.
23. Ibid., January 20, 1906, 11.
24. Ibid., January 27, 1906, 8.
25. Ibid., February 17, 1906, II.

26. Ibid., March 3, 1906, 9.
27. Ibid., 12; W. A. Griesbach, I Remember (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1946), 327-8.
28. The Saturday News, September 29, 1906, 2; Henderson's Edmonton Directory, 1906, 485.
29. L. G. Thomas, "The Rancher and the City: Calgary and the Cattlemen, 1883-1914," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada (June, 1968), 203-215.
30. The Saturday News, September 22, 1906, 11 and 15. See also the January 6 edition, 10.
31. Ibid., January 13, 1906, 3.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid., February 3, 1906, 9.
34. Ibid., February 17, 1906, 11.
35. Ibid., March 3, 1906, 11.
36. Ibid., February 13, 1906, 3; Griesbach, I Remember, contains a section on his brief contemplation of a banking career before giving it up for law and militia.
37. See Appendix II.
38. John Blue, Alberta: Past and Present, volume 3, (Chicago, Pioneer Publishing Company, 1924), 197-9; 330-31.
39. See Appendix II, Table B.
40. The Saturday News, February 24, 1906, 8.
41. See Appendix II, Table A.
42. Henderson's Edmonton and Strathcona Directories for 1906, 465-68 and 1117-8. See also Appendix II, Table C.
43. The Edmonton Club. Act of Incorporation, Constitution, Regulations and List of Members (Edmonton, Keystone Press, 1913) provided the names which were checked for further information against Henderson's Edmonton and Strathcona Directories for 1906.
44. See Appendix III.
45. See information in the biographical capsules for these men found in A. O. Macrae, History of the Province of Alberta, 2 volumes (The Western Canada History Company, 1912) and John Blue, Alberta: Past and Present, volumes 2 and 3 (Chicago, Pioneer Publishing Company, 1924). See also Griesbach, I Remember.

Chapter 9: Economic Expansion.

The economic development of Edmonton leading up to 1906 was very much a story of railways and real estate. Real estate speculation was the obvious measure of Edmonton's prosperity for visitors, but the special advantage acquired by Edmonton which was the foundation for the rising property values was the convergence on the city of railways. Transcontinental railways received the earnest attention of both the Strathcona and Edmonton municipal councils for their importance in locating the specific metropolitan centre of the region, but initially their very appearance in the vicinity was a function of decisions made by two external railway companies. The first was the Canadian Northern Railway, whose chief promoters, William Mackenzie and Donald Mann, had in 1898 acquired the charter to a local railway when the previous owners, maritimers A. G. Blair, George McAvity and William Pugsley, gave up their dream of a combined rail and water transportation route to the Yukon. With grandiose visions of their own, Mackenzie and Mann christened their new project the "Edmonton, Yukon and Pacific Railway." Its significance, however, was the local popularity gained for the promoters by a remarkably short bit of construction within Edmonton. When the necessary bridge over the North Saskatchewan was completed in April, 1900, Mackenzie and Mann used their new railway charter to link the head of the Calgary and Edmonton Railway in Strathcona with Edmonton. They were to begin the two mile project in May, 1901 and finish it in October of the same year, but did not actually get the "abandoned American equipment" they mainly depended upon in place

until spring, 1902. Nevertheless, it was the start of railway competition in Edmonton for the long established C.P.R.¹

Even then the line was not operational, for the connection of the two railways was blocked by the C.P.R., a company well aware of the significance of the link. Ostensibly the interfering issue was the question of which company would operate the new line after it was connected to the old: the Calgary and Edmonton Railway, the C.P.R. which managed its operations, or Mackenzie and Mann. The C.P.R. refused to transport passengers or freight on a railway belonging to rivals Mackenzie and Mann; yet when the latter themselves completed the connection, the C.P.R. resisted that too, apparently with a degree of actual illegal physical interference. Such decided enmity to a measure craved by Edmontonians only added to that community's well-established resentment toward the C.P.R.

The federal government had earlier reserved for the C.P.R. all unclaimed odd sections in the vast areas of the first and second Northern Reserves southeast, east and north of Edmonton. Favours had been done for a company widely believed not merely sympathetic but straightforwardly dedicated to the futures of Edmonton's rivals, Strathcona and Calgary. As a result of a new lease negotiated in 1901, the C.P.R. would manage the Calgary and Edmonton line for ninety-nine years, acquire all capital stock and eventually all first mortgage bonds, and thus have total effective control despite the continued corporate existence of the C and E company. Although C.P.R. control of huge blocks of land about Edmonton did not

mean a direct, active administration of land policy by the C.P.R., the subsidiary firm to which most of its land subsidy was turned over, the Calgary and Edmonton Land Company, was controlled by the same men - Osler, Hammond and Nanton - associated regularly with C.P.R. land policy in the west. The land company's objective was traditionally a gradual sale for long-term speculative profit rather than quick sale for immediate productive agricultural occupation. The considerable western grievance against the C.P.R., blamed for separating settlers and making educational and other services both physically and financially burdensome by holding good land out of reach, could only be intensified for urban Edmontonians depending on agricultural production to boost their own fortunes. In defying the C.P.R., then, Mackenzie and Mann won the appreciation of north side businessmen.

When, in October, 1902, the short spur line was connected over C.P.R. objection to the Calgary and Edmonton line at Strathcona, the atmosphere of celebration on that occasion was stimulated by more than the actual event. The local success of Mackenzie and Mann augured well for Edmonton anticipation of a major station as part of the same entrepreneurs' ambitions to build a new trans-Canadian line. Beginning in 1901, Mackenzie and Mann cooperated with the Hudson's Bay Company and the town of Edmonton to acquire station rights to a package of land near the downtown core. By the end of 1905 Edmontonians had therefore been expecting for four years the arrival of the Canadian Northern Railway from Winnipeg on its way to the Pacific coast. Finally during 1905 Mackenzie and

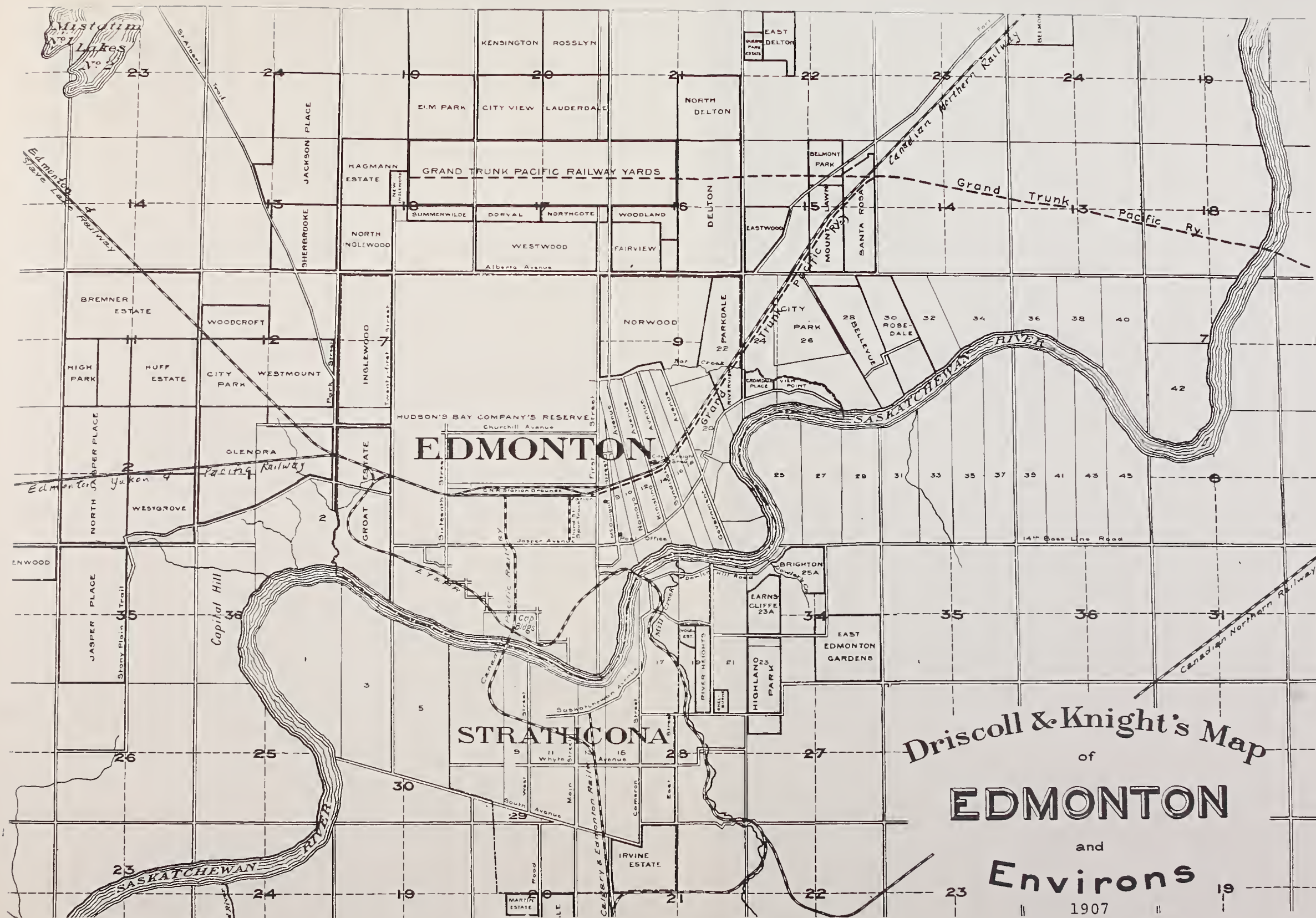
Mann had proven their persistence and skill by driving the project over the last 546 miles into Edmonton from the east, giving Edmonton boosters their first real railway break and their second eastward connection. Another short extension of the Edmonton, Yukon and Pacific Railway linked the Canadian Northern and the Canadian Pacific systems, giving Edmonton business access not only to eastern Canada but also to communities serviced by spur lines of both transcontinental networks in the west. Warehousing, wholesaling and manufacturing industries were given a logical central Edmonton location, and the north-eastern approach of the Canadian Northern from a Fort Saskatchewan river crossing shortly determined a new focus for a meat packing industry.

To clinch Edmonton's transportation centrality, yet another railway company proposed a western transcontinental extension which was accepted by the Canadian government in 1903: the Grand Trunk Railway of central Canada would build the Grand Trunk Pacific from Winnipeg to the Pacific coast by way of northern Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia.² The original route contemplated, which would have avoided construction alongside the Canadian Northern, was through the Athabasca and Peace river regions further north, but the actual survey soon resulted in the choice of Edmonton and the Yellowhead Pass in direct competition with the C.N.R. By 1905 the new Grand Trunk Pacific plan for the farther north was to run a branch line later from Edmonton to Kitimat through Peace River Pass.³ Greater Edmonton (that is, including Strathcona) was assured of another major depot, though the precise approach

and location of station, freight and maintenance yards would excite metropolitan ambitions on both sides of the river. While the rivals fought for the favour of terminal location, it was in 1906 that the situation gradually became clear and firm: early in February the company purchased approach property on both sides of the North Saskatchewan River at Clover Bar east of the city, making entry into Edmonton independent of passage through Strathcona; in June more property was acquired north of the Hudson's Bay reserve and just to the north of Edmonton city limits; and in November the federal government approved the G.T.P. map of its proposed route through Edmonton.⁴

Not to be left out entirely from the more northerly east-west traffic, the C.P.R. launched its own parallel building program to construct a line from Winnipeg through Saskatoon to Wetaskiwin forty miles south of Edmonton, where it would connect with the Calgary and Edmonton Railway, making Strathcona the terminus. Little more than a rumour to Strathcona residents in January, 1906, by June the project was well underway with hundreds of men working on sections eastward from Wetaskiwin, westward from Winnipeg, and in both directions from Saskatoon.⁵

To the Bulletin editor, it was remarkable what a dose of competition could do for C.P.R. energy: that railway's proposed construction program for 1906 was said to exceed actual construction for the ten preceding years. Not only would the three railway systems open up new lands for settlement and development, but their convergence at key points like Edmonton was confidently expected to replace monopoly with competitive rates, while the location there of divisional headquarters was



Map I: Edmonton and Environs, 1907

Source: University of Alberta Map Collection. Copy of Original in Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

a valuable stimulus to population and economic growth. Calgary's frank newspaperman Bob Edwards reported near the end of March the observable results of the Canadian Northern's introduction to Edmonton: freight rates apparently dropped fifteen percent when the C.P.R. officials could no longer take "wolfish advantage of their monopoly to soak" Edmontonians. Rumours of interest on the part of two more railway companies helped push up Edmonton real estate prices. American railway tycoon J. J. Hill was said to be considering a north-south line connecting his Great Northern transcontinental line with Medicine Hat, Edmonton, the Peace River country and British Columbia through the Pine Pass. A British Pacific Railway Company was reported to be seeking a federal charter to build from Victoria over to Bute Inlet on the mainland coast through the Yellowhead Pass to Edmonton and on to Churchill at Hudson's Bay.⁶

It did not take long for real estate to boom. In the wake of the C.N.R. arrival alone the number of real estate agencies on the Edmonton side increased from about forty to sixty from November, 1905 to early February, 1906, and of course each agency would involve several partners and several salesmen and other employees. By the beginning of June, 73 agencies were licensed, but informed rumour had it that up to 150 were actively in the field, many of them informally.

What the real estate men particularly protest against is that many businessmen doing business in other lines, professional or mercantile, make a side line of the real estate business and are virtually unassailable, as no real estate man is going to accept the odium of bringing a reputable business man into the police court and having him fined \$50 for selling a city lot.

Police were aware of another practice, by which unlicensed "curbers" solicited real estate business on the street, then shared their profit with a licensed agent in return for protection from charges of operating without a license.⁷ Voluminous buying and selling stimulated rapid multiplication of prices. The Grand Trunk Pacific was said to have run up against impossible prices in trying to secure right-of-way; the northern route just outside the city limits was believed to be one consequence.

Real estate stories became sources of wonderment as the peak summer season approached. Prices apparently doubled even in the half year preceding the end of January. New property was fetching remarkable prices in both the east and the west ends of the city. East Strathcona, with a view of downtown Edmonton, was the favoured south side residential area. D. J. McNamara, then of the Dominion Land Titles Office, was reported to have done exceptionally well on the north-eastern fringe of Edmonton proper. In the Norwood district, according to the newspaper account, McNamara in January purchased 103 lots at \$90 apiece, but making merely a 10 percent payment. Two weeks later lots in that district were reputedly selling for \$200 to \$280 each. A corner lot of 50 feet frontage near the city centre at Jasper Avenue and Second Street purchased in 1881 for \$25 had escalated in "value" to \$2500 in a 1900 sale; to \$12,000 in 1903; to \$16,000 in August and \$24,000 in December, 1905; and to \$30,000 by January, 1906.⁸

Downtown prices soared all year. One Red Deer farmer purchased ninety feet of frontage at First and Rice Streets at the

end of 1905 for \$13,500 and sold it to two Edmonton entrepreneurs in November, 1906 for \$31,500. The functional change was significant. Where once was a Chinese laundry and the old Journal office would now be a bank building and another office block. The visiting general manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, Byron Walker, observed in September that real estate prices were relatively higher in Edmonton than in towns twice or three times the size in eastern Canada. A sudden drop would not only severely injure some property investors but also curtail western credit, which he believed essential for coping with all the costs of bringing western urban civilization swiftly to the same level as that of the east. Thus the price of real estate in Edmonton, he feared, "mortgaged the future" for too long a time.⁹ Nevertheless, real estate advertisements crowded the newspapers and, of course, it was not only urban property which claimed advancing prices.

In the sense of long term development, rural land price increases were the more gratifying, since they indicated enduring and rising demand for farm land from which crop production would result with lasting economic benefit. Edmonton's agricultural flavour was obvious. Newspapers regularly carried technical information of value to farmers, and editorials attended not merely to civic affairs but also to legislation like that amending the Grain Act or the Grain Inspection Act. In the off-season, a special federal "seed train" of specialists demonstrated proper care for cleanliness, health and quality of seed grain in January; and the Alberta Farmers' Association sponsored a Seed Grain Exhibition in Robertson's Hall in

February which drew crowds of farmers. In three March days the annual exhibition of the Poultry and Pet Stock Association in Strathcona drew more. At its annual meeting, after agreeing that grain "was the foundation of Edmonton's greatness," the Board of Trade decided to establish a standing "grain committee". Although he expressed hopes for the futures of the coal and natural gas industries in Edmonton and area, outgoing president A. B. Campbell emphasized the values of a transportation network and the grain growing base for Edmonton's booming economy. Great satisfaction was derived in Edmonton from statistics of massive crop acreage increases and from prognostications of a bumper grain crop which would require the C.N.R. to add hundreds of new box cars and dozens of new engines.¹⁰

Prosperity seemed guaranteed by the broadening stream of immigration. In mid-March the sight of 100 to 200 settlers pouring in per day seemed astounding; a week later 300 to 500 a day became the new norm. More settlers had arrived in Edmonton by the end of March, 1906 than had come to the end of May the previous year, and that had been a record itself. The immigration halls had long since been overtaxed; the exhibition hall and hotels accommodated all possible until they were organized to go to settlement sites. In mid-November, 500 still arrived each week. Homestead entries also set records and private sales were in this favourable situation strenuously promoted by such major landholders as the C.P.R. through contracts with land companies. There was absolutely no doubt of the immigrants' initial or ultimate value: it was economic. Statistics about numbers arriving were usually accompanied in newspaper

reports by indications of ability to buy horses, wagons, implements and provisions for the further trip to settlement locations. A late fall story combined satisfaction at the spending by newcomers with satisfaction at the spending by an estimated 400 agrarian shoppers visiting from outlying areas each week.¹¹

The favourite gauge of urban growth in a city swept along by real estate promotion was the rate of construction on newly acquired lots. As soon as mild weather set in in March, an astonishing change was immediately obvious. Excitement was generated by the observation that the value of building permits in the first ten days of March amounted to four times the value of those for all of March, 1905. Totals at the end of March confirmed a ten-fold increase; the proportions of the comparison diminished only slowly throughout the summer. Early in April some 300 to 400 carpenters were reported to be steadily at work. At the end of the year nearly \$1.9 million worth of building permits had been issued, still two and one-half times the 1905 total notwithstanding that the boom had begun in the latter part of 1905. Three-quarters of them had gone for residential construction. The pressure on housing accommodation had been notable already during the previous year, and urban immigration obviously grew even more rapidly in 1906. Besides simple expansion of housing facilities, another cause of the increased value of building permits was evidently the sudden prosperity enjoyed particularly by numerous businessmen. "Handsome residences" began in this period to display upper income good fortune, for the time being mainly in the west end of the city south of Jasper Avenue. Large scale westward

expansion was advertised in the Glenora subdivision, part of old River lot 2, the Groat Estate, for sale in 500 foot by 100 foot lots. On the other hand, the east end also boomed with house construction, creating the demand which raised lumber prices. Most were for "workmen and businessmen" in the city's basic industries, but speculators anticipated grander developments even further east. There the prospects of "high and dry" choice land with a magnificent broad curve of river valley view were bolstered by the Council decision to purchase park land in the vicinity. Across the river hundreds of new buildings were erected in the summer of 1906 in an unprecedented construction boom apparently heavily underwritten by north siders' investment.¹²

Sawmills of the city anticipated the season's business with a very heavy log drive in the spring. The long established mills of Fraser and Walters looked forward to a gratifying boom in their enterprises; that of W. H. Clark awaited the new logs for the initial purpose of constructing a new planing mill and lumber yard on ten acres of south side river flats. By mid-June lumber prices were fluctuating between 10 and 25 percent above those of 1905. Late in August, after a fourth jump since the beginning of the year, lumber prices were up in some cases 50 percent over January rates, and early in October they jumped again. John Walters, feverishly busy all the summer season with lumber sales, boat building, and a new and successful coal mine, made plans in the fall to erect a new mill on the north side flats. It seemed impossible to exceed demand with supply.¹³

There were other measures of economic growth. One was financial. In January, in a move thought to have close connection with the arrival of the Canadian Northern Railway for which it acted as financial agent, the Canadian Bank of Commerce opened a new branch in Strathcona. In February news broke of three banks adding branches to the half dozen already chartered in Edmonton: the Northern Bank, the Bank of Hamilton and Molson's Bank.¹⁴ The most spectacular mercantile expansion appeared to be that launched by Revillon Freres. In the nineteenth century this Paris based company had made its fur trading presence felt as the chief competitor to the Hudson's Bay Company in northern Quebec and in northern Saskatchewan and Alberta as well as in their Northwest Territories hinterland, operating particularly well in Metis areas. The establishment placed in Edmonton by Revillon Freres in 1899 was expanded into the company's main warehouse in 1905, where it constituted a formidable competitor in furs and general merchandise for not only the Hudson's Bay Company but also the locally dominant firm of McDougall and Secord. In April, 1906 "Revillon Brothers" became the first merchandisers to take advantage of the Canadian Northern facilities in a big way, making use of a twenty-four car "special consignment" train to import general merchandise for its warehouse and city department stores. The train had made its journey decorated with Revillon and Edmonton banners. In July the company showed its confidence in Edmonton's expansion by announcing \$30,000 - \$40,000 extensions to its retail stores, which were then sold to another company, Acme, at year's end.¹⁵

Burgeoning population and construction gave an added impetus to fuel extraction industries in the city. Coal mines had been plentiful in Edmonton and vicinity since the 1890s; in fact they may have been too plentiful to be profitable for operators in the 1890s when some 9 mines and 35 miners had supplied a population of about 2,000. After 1900, however, the demand escalated significantly, especially in coal-scarce regions to the east, supporting twenty-three mines in 1906 and encouraging such new ventures as that of two English coal miners who in February began constructing the necessary shafts for a mine in the Parkdale fringe of the city just east of Rat Creek. An extra burst of demand caused by abnormally cold weather in the winter of 1906-7 rewarded the numerous entrepreneurs. Eleven local producers - with John Walters at the head of the production list - were kept feverishly busy expanding capacity and raising prices. A new coalfield in the Beaver Hills region nearby attracted investment from the local real estate men Crafts, Lee and Gallinger, and J. R. Black. Bigger developments were expected.¹⁶ A notable new experiment in the fuel industry was undertaken by prominent well-established Edmonton and Strathcona businessmen in 1906 with some hint of success. The North-West Gas and Oil Company which struck gas on the city's east side early in 1906 had as its president and vice-president well-known ex-Mayors Dr. H. C. Wilson and J. A. McDougall, and as its directors equally prominent civic luminaries N. D. Beck, Premier A. C. Rutherford and K. A. McLeod. While no productive business emerged immediately from these explorations, investment in the venture indicated the capital

available for innovative projects.¹⁷

Another new Alberta "industry" got its official start in Edmonton in 1906: the provincial government. Established in 1905, the province of Alberta was during 1906 fitted with the expected government agencies - for education, a judiciary, public works, health and welfare, agriculture - all with departmental headquarters in Edmonton. The first Alberta legislature sat in Edmonton in 1906 and the interim arrangement for Edmonton as the seat of government was legislatively confirmed in the first session. Marked by a string of inconsequential arguments indicating only the contending city to which each debater lived closest, the discussion gave way to the more important vote which proved that more elected representatives in the governing Liberal party lived close to Edmonton than to Calgary.¹⁸ One astute analyst points out that the choice of Edmonton as capital not only gave Liberals a stranglehold on the political loyalty of Edmonton and northern Alberta, it also tended in turn to make the government over the years especially sensitive to the needs of Edmonton and the north. Hence, as provincial railroad projects in the next few years would show, Edmonton's new position as capital had not only an immediate importance as a stimulus to urban growth, but also a long range significance for regional development for which Edmonton would be the chief urban centre. In mid-October the site of the old Hudson's Bay Company fort was selected by the government on the basis of its scenic and historic prominence to be the location of the anticipated parliamentary buildings.¹⁹

That battle won, the backers of Edmonton's future moved

immediately into action to secure the location of yet another industry, this time in the realms of education and culture, a public university. Calgarians might expect the lesser consolation of a university project to offset loss of the capital but, not only was the Edmonton area better represented in the legislature's governing party, it was also the home of the Premier. The Hon. A. C. Rutherford wanted the university for Strathcona. Although public debate on the site was postponed, a university bill passed over warnings of excessive cost. Rutherford went right to work and negotiated for the purchase of south side River Lot 5 before January, 1907. Thus, long before the time chosen later in 1907 to announce the site of the proposed University of Alberta, Premier Rutherford had in fact acted to give greater Edmonton another economic as well as cultural advantage.²⁰

Even though Edmonton's economy did not depend only on commerce, real estate speculation, construction, fuel and government bureaucracy in 1906, great diversification was not a trademark of booming Edmonton. Toward the end of the year a new packing plant and the Edmonton Brewing Company announced new factory construction,²¹ but it was not yet a large city and had, as we shall see, still to come to grips with the issue of financially encouraging a range of industries to locate in Edmonton. For the time being, the coincidence of the simultaneous appearance of railways, the government centre, and massive agricultural immigration appeared quite enough to assure Edmonton's economic future. For those who did not make decisions leading to new enterprise, but worked for wages,

Edmonton's opportunities were equally ample. There was no unemployment in the city in 1906.²² Canadian eyes turned to western cities like Edmonton. Among the numerous central Canadian newspaper accounts of the new Edmonton and new western opportunity, one report to the Toronto Star in the spring of 1906 captured the enthusiasm of Edmonton businessmen. After outlining the various transformations which were responsible for the prevailing air of optimism, the reporter went on:

The other morning when I boarded the train at Calgary to come here [Edmonton] I began to observe evidences of Edmonton's prosperity. The whole talk [in] the smoker was Edmonton. A party of ladies and gentlemen, residents of Edmonton, with whom I had journeyed from Vancouver, now began to talk of Edmonton. The thought of getting home and into the thick of Edmonton business again filled their minds with Edmonton. One man told me confidentially that another occupant of the same car was worth ten to fifteen millions, all of which he had made in Edmonton, and half of it in the last year. The millionaire told me the other man had made \$300,000 during the last six months, and while he was away on this holiday trip his son had cleared up \$60,000. Another was pointed out whom [sic] I was informed had struck Edmonton nine years ago with sixteen dollars and was now worth \$600,000. And so on. How much of these large fortunes had been realized in speculation and are [sic] still represented in real estate at present prices I did not inquire.²³

Footnotes

1. This and the three following paragraphs are drawn from T. D. Regehr, The Canadian Northern Railway...1895-1919 (Toronto, Macmillan of Canada, 1976), 69-71, 164-9, 245; R. A. Christenson, "The Calgary and Edmonton Railway and the Edmonton Bulletin" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1967), 152-6, 160-2, 218-223, 236-249; H. K.-Y. Lai, "Evolution of the Railway Network of Edmonton and Its Land Use Effects" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1967), 20-3; Edmonton Journal (EJ), January 23, 1906.

2. Regehr, The Canadian Northern, 107-123.
3. Morris Zaslow, The Opening of the Canadian North 1870-1914 (Toronto/Montreal, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1971), 202-3; E. H. Dale, "The Role of the City Council in the Economic and Social Development of Edmonton, Alberta, 1892 to 1966" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Alberta, 1969), 17.
4. Edmonton Bulletin (EB), February 2, June 29, 30, 1906; Minutes, Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company Directors' Meeting, February 7, 1907; Public Archives of Canada (PAC) C.N.R. Papers, RG 30, vol. 1104, GTP Minute Book #2.
5. EJ, January 2, and June 19, 1906; EB, February 6, 7, June 30, 1906.
6. EB, February 6, 13, March 26, 29, June 30, 1906.
7. EB, February 9 and June 15, 1906.
8. EJ, January 18, 27, 30, June 19, July 30, 1906; EB, January 30, February 5, 1906.
9. EB, September 22 and November 16, 1906.
10. EB, January 20, 23, February 12-14, 21, 28, March 12, 13, June 28, July 7, August 6, 13, 1906.
11. EB, January 29, February 3, March 24, 27, 31, April 2, 1906; EJ, November 23, 1906.
12. EB, December 29, 1905, March 12, April 2, 23, May 1, September 11, 12, November 5, 1906; EJ, October 2, 1906; The Labour Gazette (Ottawa, Department of Labour), vol. 7, no. 7 (January, 1907), 746.
13. EB, April 16, 27, June 18, September 1, October 2, 1906.
14. EJ, January 16, 1906; EB, February 16, 17, March 20, 1906.
15. Zaslow, The Opening, 239-240; EB, April 23, July 27, November 27, 1906.
16. R. G. Ironside and S. A. Hamilton, "Historical Geography of Coal Mining in the Edmonton District," Alberta Historical Review, vol. 20, no. 2 (Summer, 1972), 10-11; EB, February 23, November 14, 17, December 26, 1906; Labour Gazette, vol. 7, no. 6 (December, 1906), 632 and no. 7 (January, 1907), 747.
17. EJ, January 15, 1906.
18. L. G. Thomas, The Liberal Party in Alberta (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1959), 34-41.
19. Zaslow, The Opening, 210-211; EB, October 12, 1906.

20. Thomas, The Liberal Party, 39-40, 50; John F. Gilpin, "The City of Strathcona 1891-1912" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1978), 119-120.
21. Labour Gazette, vol. 7, no. 6 (December, 1906), 631.
22. See monthly reports on Edmonton, Labour Gazette, vol. 6 and 7 for 1906.
23. Article by J. P. McConnell in Toronto Star, March 17, 1906, reprinted in EB, March 31, 1906.

Chapter 10: Formal Municipal Organization.

A booming economy and multiplication of the urban population exerted unique pressures for collective approaches to a host of new problems. The city's two basic solutions were not exactly innovations, but were borrowed from available examples for their aptness to the condition of rapid growth: public ownership of utilities and a professional executive branch of civic government. Strathcona's response to the situation was dependent upon the nature of Edmonton's; it will be considered separately later. For Edmonton citizens, the task of coping with common requirements was in 1906 understood to comprehend the provision of the following services: modern streets and sidewalks, electricity, telephones, water and sewerage, a street railway, parks, education and, reluctantly, some supervision of public health. On the other hand, obvious growth encouraged optimistic visions of proliferating future good fortune. Civic administration was managed, therefore, not only to cope with an increasing magnitude in collective problems of utility and welfare services after they arose, but also to prepare for the continuing boom to come.

Moreover, the expectation of prevailing growth suggested an apparently logical way to finance urban utility advances: property taxation. Actually there were further implications to property assessment beyond simple taxation. High assessments and low taxation rates were believed to accomplish good civic advertising to attract new business and to boost the limits of civic borrowing. Net Edmonton assessment after exemptions was in 1906 set at more than \$17,000,000 which, in the con-

ventional wisdom, permitted borrowing power to twenty percent or \$3,400,000. That the city in the fall of 1906 had a debenture liability of just over \$1,000,000, half of it in sinking funds, could therefore be interpreted as a "splendid condition" against the possible limits of borrowing power.¹

Some rather imposing costs could in this atmosphere pass as routine, like a year end commitment to nearly \$300,000 worth of future paving. City Council's major puzzle was to choose between the rival "bitulithic" and "carbolinium block" methods of paving.² The civic response to the financial requirements of Edmonton's electric light and power system is instructive. After the privately owned Edmonton Electric Light and Power Company balked at the cost of improvement and expansion in 1902 without either public financial assistance or the long term security of a ten year contract, the risk had been distributed among the citizens through the device of public ownership and management. By 1906, therefore, the public utility could display fine operating profits as long as the capital costs of ceaseless construction and equipment purchase were kept in a widely separated accounting column.³ It was possible on the one hand to cut power rates in the middle of the year while concurrently on the other hand adding to the city's debt by increasing the number of arc street lights. The desire to guarantee and expand the source of electricity supply threatened further to multiply the debt. One proposal by Mayor May, to purchase forty-one acres of known coal land in the flats near the power plant, would have cost \$60,000 initially and an indeterminate sum to get a mine into operable condition. That

was modest in comparison with an alternative plan to build a hydro-electric power development on the North Saskatchewan river fifty miles west of the city. When the engineer who was consulted reported that kind of project to be feasible but expensive, requiring a capital outlay of \$1 million and annual operating costs of \$140,000, it is difficult to say which sum caused the more consternation. Capital debt was one thing; operating expense which would be covered by high power prices was probably the key factor in scuttling the proposal.⁴

The telephone system was another public utility which the municipality had taken over from private operators after their original ten year charter was concluded in 1903. To the normal demand for expansion of this particular service was joined the pressure of bewildering technological change; Edmonton Council spent much of the year 1906 attempting to understand the validity of conflicting claims by a variety of telephone producers to the most effective systems. All were considered superior to the dual network in place in Edmonton and Strathcona: "the oldest kind of old fashioned ground wire system" going back to 1893, combined with later additions of metallic circuitry. Besides technology, there remained the question of cost. Of the modern alternatives, a Canadian automatic company made the lowest bid, but here Commissioner G. J. Kinnaird introduced a third alternative at least as cheap: to rebuild antiquated parts and expand the old system, thus avoiding the risk of a relatively untried experiment with automatic technology. In the end Council ignored the advice of its senior civil servants and chose the Canadian automatic system on

the basis of cost and modernity, trusting to a contract guarantee to ensure seven good workable years to overcome the risk factor. Though the \$65,000 required formed half the total amount Council sought permission from the ratepayers to raise in August for all its current projects, it caused no controversy and passed with a landslide majority amidst a poor voters' turnout.⁵

Nor was there any fuss in July about undertaking the immense financial and managerial burden of a \$300,000 expenditure on "the largest public work ever projected in Edmonton, or [for] that matter by any municipality between Winnipeg and the Pacific coast:" major extensions of water and sewerage pipelines. The city had already incurred considerable debt since 1901 when open gutters and water supply by private wells and horse drawn distribution to street-side containers were first superseded by networks of pipe. The decision to make it a public rather than a private utility service was made at that time. Once begun this project never ended in expansive times. Not only did the web have to be enlarged, but mains had to be replaced by much larger concrete pipe to increase capacity to be filled by a new three million gallon electrically driven turbine pump. Hence what was first debated as a \$113,000 project in February, 1906 rapidly tripled by the time decision was reached late in June. In August construction was underway on five and one-half miles of water pipe extension to cost about \$15,000. But initiation of this project did not end Council's cost considerations. At the end of November the City Engineer brought a report to Council showing necessity for

immediate expansion of both electric and water systems, already overtaxed and unprepared for a doubling in population expected in two years. It raised questions not merely of additional capacity for the pumping plant but also of future contamination of water flowing into the pump area from what would soon be a new residential area upstream. Relocation or purification would be expensive. And then, with respect to sewer construction, for which a route location had been debated since March, contract negotiations were underway in mid-November, and agreements reached by mid-December with a private company to build the main and lateral sewerage lines. During the earlier discussions in Council, Alderman Boyle pressed for an end to "temporizing" with construction that would be overloaded immediately, and Alderman Mays was persuaded that a sewer system meant to last for 50 to 100 years should be "the best, not the cheapest." Then too, considerations of public health, as we shall see, made continuous expenditure on this service all the easier to justify.⁶

It would perhaps be difficult to argue against the value of proper water distribution and sewerage disposal to sanitation and the reduction of disease. The early history of plans for a street railway, on the other hand, bespoke pure civic and commercial ambition. Though from 1894 to 1905 an Edmonton street railway proved too grand a project for successful private accomplishment, so determined was the Edmonton Council to have the system that private failure was interpreted not as reason to abandon the project but as justification for making it a public one. Most of 1906 was consumed by a consult-

ing engineer's study of the likely cost of twelve blocks of street railway along Jasper Avenue (the main street). His report in October predicted installation of track and purchase of equipment would require over \$100,000. The visiting general manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce thought a current typhoid epidemic emphasized more legitimate fields for municipal expenditure, but ratepayers remained unaffected and in December overwhelmingly approved purchase of street rails and trolley wire for some six miles of street railway. It was the first step to a small system which became operational in 1908.⁷

It was probably no accident either in the halcyon expansion years after city incorporation that the Council was frequently presented with offers of new property for park land. Quite apart from any profit the generous donors might earn or deny themselves in the direct sale, there was no doubt that firm establishment of future park land in any area could not help but improve real estate prices in the vicinity. When on one occasion some private citizens took the initiative to secure land for parkland until the city had time to act officially, this was judged a gesture of Edmonton's "public spirited citizens" of the same variety, significantly, as those responsible for securing the city's first bridge and the C.N.R. depot. On a larger scale, a Board of Trade interested in attracting new business by presenting a favourable picture of residential amenities did not hesitate in November, 1905 to put pressure on City Council to extend its park land. One of the Board's suggestions was that Council assist the financially troubled

Edmonton Industrial Exhibition Association by purchasing the land on which it paid rent to Messrs. McDougall and Secord. In June burgesses approved a \$46,000 expenditure to obtain for parks of 100 acres west of Groat Estate and of 250 acres in two eastern river lot packages. Before the end of the year they approved a further \$60,000 outlay to purchase the large Exhibition Association grounds, an acquisition which was completed in the following year.⁸

In October the Board of Trade studied and adopted a resolution to press City Council for a "city beautification" plan embodying a 200 foot wide boulevard along the river bank and around the city, preservation of the entire river bank escarpment as well as Rat Creek and Groat Creek ravines for park, and (with provincial government help) development of a fifteen mile driveway up and down stream from Edmonton. According to Board representative and former Mayor William Short, this was all worthwhile because several American cities were spending "large sums" on such plans. A month later, in mid-November, Council did indeed decide to employ the landscape architect, Frederick G. Todd, to prepare "a comprehensive beautification scheme" for the city. Todd was in Edmonton to design the provincial parliamentary grounds; for \$500 he would take the city's task as well. The general directions to Todd were similar to the recommendations of the Board of Trade.⁹ Though Todd's plan was not implemented, there was clearly no end to Board of Trade developmental ambition.

The conclusion cannot easily be avoided that Edmontonians as a whole were being loaded with a current and future

debt burden with startling rapidity and long term consequences. A negative sort of collective urban interest was being imposed on Edmonton's people. The point has been made often enough that, in Edmonton as elsewhere before World War I, shared urban utilities would not only overcome some of the difficulties of residential density, but would also satisfy businessmen and speculators in urban and rural property who had opportunities to extract private profit from urban expansion.¹⁰ As long as a bright future beckoned, it was apparently easy to believe it would handle the mounting debt as well. One of the reasons this cynical view is so easy to hold is the hesitancy with which unprofitable health and social welfare services were approached.

Only in 1906 did the requirements of public health and fire prevention finally move Council to accept city commissioners' recommendations that "horses and a scavenging outfit be purchased and maintained as a street cleaning department," and that a sanitary inspector be appointed with multiple extra duties as caretaker and nurse of the isolation hospital and quarantine officer. The spectre to be avoided was disease. The epidemic disease of the year was typhoid fever, though others - notably smallpox, malaria and diphtheria - were endemic on both sides of the river. When typhoid fever struck in September, Edmonton was not alone in Canada in fighting the disease. Dr. Braithwaite, the veteran medical health officer retained on a part time basis by the city, deplored newspaper sensationalism which tended to mark Edmonton as a "pestilential hole" while in fact, he believed, more than half the ninety

cases had been engendered outside the city. Before long Braithwaite's salary was raised on the basis of heavy work; indeed the possibility of making his position full time received consideration. The city's doctors pressed the city to enforce its by-law requiring the connection of residences to the city's water and sewer systems, and Council was embarrassed to discover some city-owned houses not only with typhoid cases but also with no sewer and water connections.¹¹ If the epidemic encouraged the city's water and sewer projects, it also no doubt served to quieten the uproar which had attended plans dating back to January to establish a new isolation hospital.

From the point of view of private charity, this was exactly the type of social service which should be public. It was not only that civic officials had traditionally coped with epidemics, but it was also a service which was at once essential and fraught with built-in opportunities for community fracture. The proposal for a proper isolation hospital in Edmonton was first discussed by Edmonton Council in January. Once a civic-run institution was agreed upon, the next consideration was a site. No sooner had one been selected than an east end property owner objected that he did not want a "pest house" so near the lots he owned. A yard-long east end petition which followed quickly persuaded a majority of Council to send the matter back to committee for further study in May. Only the typhoid scare prompted action. During June, even as Council was studying building plans, an investigation into alleged negligence in the death of a boy in the existing temporary facility emphasized the necessity for efficient treatment of

isolation cases sufficiently to quell the controversy over location. In August a by-law to raise money for the isolation hospital passed with an overwhelming majority in an "abnormally small vote."¹²

The transition of hospital administration from private and voluntary to public support and care in other than emergency conditions was not nearly complete by 1906. In Edmonton the voluntary Women's Aid Society of the public hospital was a firmly entrenched institution with more than 130 members and the desire to be bigger. The Society was still the major fundraiser for the hospital's operations, even if its members did worry about the prospects for voluntarily clearing the hospital of operational debt. At the end of the year, however, plans were underway for the city to build a new public hospital. Rapid expansion of health services threatened to over-reach the capacity of the Women's Aid Society to raise enough health care funds privately. By way of contrast, in 1906 Strathcona was just equipping its first tiny temporary hospital in a six bedroom house, and a Strathcona Ladies' Hospital Aid Society was just being formed by wives of some of Strathcona's prominent citizens. And in terms of social welfare, neither municipality had progressed further than the relief committee method of handling the most extreme financial need.¹³ But the plans for a new public hospital and an isolation hospital indicated how health emergencies could push even reluctant leaders into costly health and welfare services.

Interestingly enough, education was a far better accepted responsibility. The four school boards (public and separ-

ate) of the two municipalities had but one over-riding concern in 1906: to provide enough school space for the multiplying pupil enrollment. Their deliberations were uniformly about building programs. A new public school was constructed in the north-west district of Norwood. Both the Edmonton and Strathcona separate school boards approved replacement of inadequate existing facilities with larger brick structures. Otherwise, even salary adjustments provoked no great controversy; trustees themselves observed that teachers dissatisfied with the inadequate remuneration solved their problem by leaving the profession. Thus, the manifold opportunity in boom time Edmonton worked its own pressure on the school boards to raise teachers' salaries.¹⁴

The same unusual opportunity reduced aldermen's anxiety to induce new businesses to locate in the city by offering financial advantages of lower taxes and utility rates or free land. To civic leaders starved for direct transcontinental connections since the expectant days of 1881 there was no hesitancy about bonusing railway companies, but confusion related to the encouragement of other industry once the railways were secured. Were not railway connections and booming agricultural immigration inducements enough for aggressive businessmen to choose Edmonton for their enterprises? If that was generally true, what were the principles which should determine special cases deserving civic bonuses?

With the Canadian Northern firmly in operation, Edmonton Council's attention focussed on the Grand Trunk Pacific. Ever since city officials had early in 1903 become aware of

G.T.P. prospects for a northern transcontinental line, they had unceasingly sought options on property potentially useful for right of way and station sites. By February, 1905, before Grand Trunk Pacific surveys in the area were completed, Edmonton Council had already submitted to its burgesses a by-law on the subject. Should G.T.P. railway terminals be established within Edmonton, the by-law provided for a bonus of \$100,000 together with municipal tax exemption until the beginning of 1910 and thereafter taxation assessment on the fixed value of actual land purchase until the end of 1928. As soon as the necessary federal order-in-council approved the proposed G.T.P. route into and through Edmonton in November, 1906, that offer went into effect, but in the meantime further Council initiative was required since C.N.R. construction over much of the same approach along which the city held options had raised land values astronomically. Through the first half of 1906 city officials arranged purchases to prepare a route to a terminal site just north of city limits and three miles north of Jasper Avenue. Eventually the G.T.P. arranged to share passenger station facilities with the C.N.R. at the latter's station site close to the town core.¹⁵

The contrasting reluctance of aldermen to grant financial incentives to other entrepreneurs was demonstrated in the debate about a particular case. In February an application came through William Short's law firm for an iron foundry enterprise to build a \$30,000 establishment immediately in exchange for a particular free site and exemption from taxation for ten years. While there apparently was a demand for that

service, councillors generally objected to the suggestion. In part the reservations expressed the pragmatic view that so small an enterprise asked too much concession, but several argued against it on principle: that outsiders would be favoured unfairly over small businessmen already in the city; that tax exemptions would cut into the city's revenue. Furthermore, argued Mayor Charles May, a systematic policy should be created to apply universally to applications as they appeared. The Board of Trade picked up the latter idea and forwarded resolutions proposing a policy of land lease or sale at a low price to intending businessmen and a "standing offer of light, power and water to new manufactures or enterprises to induce them to locate here, providing that a stipulated number of employees be engaged, that white labor be employed," and that similar businesses already operating in Edmonton receive the same benefits. Council's lack of urgent concern permitted the specific question of the iron foundry to be postponed indefinitely pending study and decision about a general bonusing policy. During the year bonus inquiries came from a paving company, an ironwork and wire manufacturing company, a meat packing plant and the Edmonton Brewing Company. The policy worked out by Council in November reflected the lack of concern fostered by prosperity: simply to offer water, power and light at cost. By year end election time, debate of broad principles was still underway.¹⁶

Edmonton's Council clearly preferred the much more limited cost of civic advertising and grants to the Board of Trade to promote Edmonton opportunities. Paid advertisements

in newspapers across North America urged outsiders to establish grist mills, woollens mills, machine shops, tanneries and other industries which could process local raw materials or provide new services to the region. Edmonton's "souvenir" pamphlet distributed during and after the September, 1905, inaugural ceremony for the province made a specific connection between all the utility extension and civic boosterism. The "foundations of future material greatness" were understood to be enhanced by municipal ownership and extension of utility services; non-material attributes of educational and religious facilities were similarly used to increase the appeal for further business development.¹⁷ Comparable arguments were employed in February, 1906 during a joint Board of Trade - Council expedition eastward to Canadian and American points both to study telephone systems and to publicize the attractions of Edmonton. In fact Council depended on the Board of Trade to conduct most of the promotion of Edmonton opportunities and, paradoxically, paid the Board to do so in proportion to the extent of its recent success. In March, 1906 the Board came to Council with a program for printing and circulating a seventy page pamphlet, for advertising in newspapers, and for paying agents to lure immigrants at eastern fall fairs. Their request for \$5,000 was double the civic grant of the previous year, yet the effectiveness of the grant's use in 1905 apparently warranted double the money in 1906.¹⁸

In truth the attack of the Board of Trade showed new sophistication and determination in 1906, no doubt influenced by the enthusiasm generated by the new prospects. A curious

unity of business purpose is suggested by the Board's unanimous selection of A. T. Cushing, the losing mayoralty candidate at the end of 1905, as President at its February, 1906 meeting. It was clear from reports and discussion that the Board's increased activity in 1905 was a result of increased outside interest - letters of inquiry poured in - rather than strenuous effort to engender it. Instead of depending solely on a paid secretary to handle all its day-to-day business, the Board decided to create four committees and six sub-sections, each devoted to promotion of a particular kind of industry. Hence Vice-president John A. McDougall attended to the important affairs of the "Committee for the Promotion of New Industries and Commercial Enterprises"; out-going President A. B. Campbell chaired its manufacturers' sub-section; J. H. Gariepy and K. W. McKenzie the wholesalers' and retailers' sub-sections. Others handled real estate and insurance, professionals and publicity; third Vice-president William Short chaired a civic interests committee.¹⁹

Although Edmonton City Council's subsidy to its promotional Board of Trade was limited, it was still proportionally far more than the Strathcona Town Council paid its Board for similar services. The March request of the seventy member Strathcona Board for \$1,500 from Strathcona Town Council got lost in committee for months before being pared down to \$600 in October. Little wonder their actual activity featured little more than arranging for agricultural and mineral displays at Canadian fairs and hosting visiting Canadian Manufacturers Association delegates. This was a good indication of the limits on Strath-

cona boosterism which made all the more believable Edmonton Mayor May's boast that Edmonton and Strathcona would soon form a single more imposing metropolis.²⁰

Strathcona leaders were experiencing considerable difficulty by 1906 in maintaining the claim that Strathcona would surpass Edmonton as the centre of the new metropolis. Its governing structure remained as simple as the ordinance of incorporation had permitted on its passage in April, 1899: a six member Council and a handful of municipal employees and officials provided a limited number of services. There were but three policemen, and the fire brigade continued to be voluntary.²¹ What was happening to Strathcona was illustrated in part by what had happened to the Strathcona Agricultural Society. In 1904 it had been reconstituted the Strathcona Industrial Exhibition Society, its capital stock and expenses shared by some fifty Strathcona businessmen and professionals. Yet the name belied its activities, which were limited to very quiet planning for spring Arbor Day "games and sports" and a modest fall fair.²²

Meanwhile, the Edmonton Industrial Exhibition Association had since 1901 developed the traditional July 1 celebrations into an exhibition filling out four days, eclipsing the Strathcona event which had at one time been the sole fair for both communities. When financial difficulties accompanied the Edmonton Exhibition's expansion, the city came repeatedly to the rescue with grants. In 1906, civic grants covered not only the grounds lease, but also \$5,000 worth of losses. In exchange, Edmonton Council was willing to take responsibility

for selecting a committee to monitor exhibition expenses. Before the year was out, ratepayers had agreed to spend \$60,000 to purchase the Exhibition grounds: henceforth exhibitions would take place on city territory. The advantages to Edmonton were evidently perceived to be desirable enough in the broader sense for citizens to overlook and absorb the immediate deficits. An Edmonton Bulletin editorial isolated the direct benefits: the business of thousands of visitors; the exhibition not only of the produce, but therefore also of the prospects of the district; the maintenance of a reputation for continuing civic vitality. An indirect benefit not normally mentioned by civic boosters was the focus of collective celebration on Edmonton, not only of the people who attended (brought by special trains from as far away as 100 miles) but of the organizations which participated. Banks closed early. Even Strathcona businesses closed for one day to permit increased attendance. Baseball teams, Edmonton and Strathcona squadrons of the Canadian Mounted Rifles and the Boys' Brigade, church women operating dining halls to support such social welfare agencies as the Women's Hospital Aid: all were for several days organized explicitly within the total urban framework.²³

Not only had Strathcona given up its primacy in this field, but its residents obviously participated enthusiastically in Edmonton's replacement. For that was the essential difference in the collective Strathcona response to urban service requirements: smaller Strathcona had an alternative not open to Edmonton, simply to attach itself in whole or in part to

the larger urban neighbour, to join another community rather than create a separate one. That alternative seems to have gained respectability during 1905 and 1906 when both the C.N.R. and G.T.P. chose to locate terminals in Edmonton rather than in Strathcona.

The C.N.R. crossed the North Saskatchewan River several miles northeast of Strathcona, its planners no doubt influenced by their earlier confrontations with Strathcona entrepreneurs on the one hand and by Fort Saskatchewan bonus inducements on the other. Here should have been a clear warning that Strathcona's supposed advantage as the best site for a river crossing was more appropriate to a north-south line like the C.P.R. Calgary and Edmonton line than to an east-west line with technical reasons to avoid grade problems in the Beaver Hills east of Strathcona. Despite consultations by Strathcona Council and Board of Trade representatives with railway officials in the east as early as the fall of 1904, no inducements were offered to the C.N.R., nor did leading Strathconans evidently worry much about the Grand Trunk Pacific route until 1906. Then it was too late, even though petulant complaints began in 1905.²⁴

Set against the background of Edmonton's far lustier approach to the problem, complaints and admonitions by way of the federal government would have required some overwhelming sanction in order to prevail against Edmonton largesse. Instead, after route plans submitted by the G.T.P. to the Dominion government Department of Railways and Canals showed a river crossing at Clover Bar, north-east of Strathcona once again although not as far away as Fort Saskatchewan, the Strathcona

Council and Board of Trade wasted valuable months merely criticizing the legitimacy of G.T.P. and federal government survey information. Pressure on Prime Minister Laurier from the Strathcona Board of Trade, from the Liberal Member of Parliament for Strathcona, Peter Talbot, and from Liberal Alberta Premier A. C. Rutherford did eventually get through to G.T.P. directors, but it only delayed final decision on the route pending further surveys. And there was another factor: earlier suggestions to C.P.R. officials by G.T.P. spokesmen that a projected high level bridge over the North Saskatchewan gorge and river from Strathcona to Edmonton be shared had evidently been rejected. Repeated Grand Trunk Pacific surveys suggested the Clover Bar crossing would give shorter, cheaper and more convenient access to the much greater shipping volume of Edmonton as compared with Strathcona. It may be that Strathcona's smaller population could not have matched the financial inducements offered by Edmonton even had the attempt been made. During the spring of 1906 Strathcona Council and Board of Trade delegates travelled to Ottawa to talk with appropriate government transportation officials; then finally the Council made available enough money to ensure a G.T.P. survey into the town and offered land for terminal facilities, but it seemed to be too little too late.²⁵

Strathcona Council was left with the C.P.R., to which it belatedly offered land and tax exemption inducements to build impressive new terminal facilities and the long-surveyed high level bridge to Edmonton.²⁶ But even this attempt to improve its traditional rail connections southward had, in

the wake of the sudden C.N.R. and G.T.P. advances into Edmonton, not nearly the impact or purpose it might have had earlier during the period of Strathcona's railway advantage. Moreover, a C.P.R. high level bridge to Edmonton would provide another though more indirect transcontinental route for Edmonton freight besides those of the two competitors. The inevitable result after its eventual completion would be cooperation among the three lines and an additional impetus to amalgamation of the two communities. Hence, promotion of the high level bridge was an ironic response to the disturbing realization that Strathcona as a separate entity had been left out of the northern transcontinental railways. Strathcona Council in the fall of 1906 authorized a railway approach route to the proposed bridge site. At that time the citizens of Strathcona, whether oblivious to the consequences or resigned to the inevitable, were pressing even more forcefully than the citizens of Edmonton for addition of a non-railway "traffic floor" level on the bridge.²⁷

It was the Strathcona Board of Trade which first sent resolutions in April to the provincial and federal governments requesting healthy contributions to the expected \$311,000 extra cost for a traffic floor. As the Edmonton Board of Trade discussed its own endorsement of those resolutions, a leading Strathcona advocate, Dr. W. McIntyre, urged the move as a morale boost for a petition circulating in Strathcona. The petition recommended Strathcona ratepayers take on themselves 15 percent of the traffic floor cost up to a maximum of \$50,000. In short order that petition, with Premier Rutherford's name at

the head of a list of 255, was presented to Strathcona Council. When action was not sufficiently prompt, a "committee of leading citizens" which included ex-Mayor Davies called on Council personally early in May, extracting a promise of a public meeting on the issue. At that public meeting no argument was offered against the bridge addition; what quibble there was had to do with favoured locations or the relationship of the vehicular and foot level of the bridge to ground level. The majority seemed to agree in varying intensity with ex-Mayor Davies' observation that "the town was sick and needed a tonic." The only modification cherished by Mayor W. H. Sheppard was to saddle the Alberta and Canadian governments with the full cost. A committee of eight, including the mayor and ex-mayor, Board of Trade President Orlando Bush and Alderman J. M. Douglas, was created to accomplish the project. When Council appeared to relax its efforts through 1906, the Board of Trade kept up pressure by delegation. While satisfactory arrangements were not achieved until 1910, it is not possible to see in the 1906 controversy the least vestige of resistance to the submergence of Strathcona identity in an integrated transportation and business system for greater Edmonton.

There were in fact other signs that leading Strathconans now saw Strathcona's future in tandem with Edmonton's. It is true that the old dream of city status was pushed to its conclusion toward the end of 1906 culminating in city incorporation in March, 1907, but there were short term practical considerations to that: for qualified towns, city incorporation gave additional financial power, which was the main argu-

ment for it offered by the Strathcona Plaindealer and the Board of Trade. That this move did not indicate aggressive championship of a separate Strathcona is confirmed on the one hand by an accompanying failure to solicit assisted location of new businesses in Strathcona, and on the other hand by the trend to share utilities with Edmonton. In several fields - electric power, street lighting, water and sewerage, streets and sidewalks, parks - Strathcona already had systems which its Council continued to maintain.²⁸ In the expensive fields of transportation and communication, however, cooperation with Edmonton seemed to have certain advantages.

Associated with the idea of a high level bridge was the project of the Strathcona Radial Tramway Company, the majority of whose directors were from Edmonton. Since an October, 1904 incorporation, the company's intention was to create an integrated system connecting Strathcona, Edmonton and Fort Saskatchewan, with the possibility of future radial extension up to eighty miles from 1904 town boundaries. In September, 1906 the directors sought a thirty year franchise and a ten to twelve year taxation exemption from both Strathcona and Edmonton in return "after a time" for sharing profits with the municipalities. The significance of Strathcona Council's acceptance of the scheme in principle was not that any action followed immediately - in fact it did not for several years - but that Strathcona officials raised no fierce objection to so close an integration with the commercially more powerful neighbour.²⁹ The same was true for development of Strathcona's telephone system. It had been an adjunct of Edmonton's since 1901, and

since 1903 that had been run by the municipality of Edmonton as a public utility. In 1906, when advances in telephone technology and population growth made the old system seem as inadequate in Strathcona as in Edmonton, one alternative for Strathcona was to develop its own modern system. Instead, Council swiftly decided to negotiate with Edmonton Council for the cheaper expedient: simple extension of the new Edmonton automatic system throughout Strathcona according to the terms of a fifteen year franchise.³⁰

Railway disappointments and strain on Strathcona's capacity to provide urban services were insistently highlighting the easier solution of amalgamation with larger Edmonton precisely at the same time as Edmonton's corporate approach to utility expansion was undergoing extraordinary escalation. Edmonton municipal Council became increasingly and irrevocably important to its citizens, not only as expansion emphasized the need for physical and health services, but also as the civic debt mounted. To discharge that debt must mean the continuation or adaptation of the institutions through which it had been accumulated. The eager acquisition of utilities was made by the community as a whole (in financial terms); the community as a whole must discharge the cost over a long period of time. Furthermore, the community already had a taste of the way this process was inevitably extended by the requirements for maintenance and improvement of some services. The persistence of problems like epidemic disease and poverty was forcing reluctant community attention to public health and welfare, a commitment equally difficult to retreat from once

entered. A corollary to the effect on collective financial commitment was the perception of a need for more sophisticated administrative machinery.

Certain Edmonton leaders were instrumental in adapting the executive branch to cope with the increasing civic business. One of these was William Short, who in 1904 had imposed his ideas on the charter of city incorporation. What he proposed was not unique, but borrowed from recommendations of Ontario municipal government experts, especially former Toronto city solicitor W. H. Biggar. The point was to perfect a form of government which would modify the democracy of an elected council with institutions promoting efficient corporate administration and planning; to modify the voices of individual citizens with the bureaucracy of an organic entity. A town the size of Edmonton could not immediately be said to require the separation of legislative and administrative branches of government embodied in the establishment of a small council (eight aldermen) and a board of commissioners each with specified executive powers, the link provided in the dual capacity of the mayor to chair meetings of each body. That is why Edmonton began with but one commissioner other than the mayor; but it could be and was argued that provision was in this form farsightedly made for the future. "Business efficiency" characterized also the nature of aldermanic representation. It was for the city at large, because representation by regional "ward" (a particular group of people) had been judged corrupting by municipal experts for the influence of sectors of the populations in major American and central Canadian cities. In 1906 Alderman

W. A. Griesbach made the Edmonton application unmistakably explicit: "where there is a foreign element, it is often difficult to find a suitable representative."³¹

While Strathcona would at the end of 1906 make plans to follow Edmonton's example, in Edmonton not all aldermen appreciated Short's outlook on the value of the new arrangements. In 1906 - as, indeed, in years to come - Edmonton City Council struggled to accommodate the apparently conflicting jurisdiction of the commissioners' branch. The broader issue arose from an unedifying debate about the competence of City Engineer J. H. Hargreaves. Whether or not to dispense with his services, on the basis of charges he had supervised some cement work of inferior, cracking quality, and had grossly underestimated the costs of certain sewerage works, was a question paradoxically solved by creating a new Commissioner of Public Works position for Hargreaves while appointing another chief engineer to work under him. Hargreaves' argument that the expansion of public works in the city's priorities created undue pressure on administrators was obviously a telling one. Here was an advance over the framework of the 1904 charter arrangements: to the first commissioner (Secretary-Treasurer G. J. Kinnaird) was now added a second; to the first all-encompassing correspondence and financial duties of the old town clerk were now added the boom city responsibilities of a Public Works Commissioner to extend utilities as rapidly as possible.³²

Sorting out the administrative jurisdictions of the new officials occupied several months of wearying squabbles.

At about the same time the commissioners were engaged in a confrontation with the voluntary fire brigade and solved that by replacing it with a smaller but paid full time force of fire-fighters. Alderman Griesbach was, however, an "old boy" of the voluntary brigade and did his futile best to reinstate the voluntary system.³³ For varying reasons, therefore, some aldermen were in 1906 discontented with the separation of Council and commissioners' functions. They stimulated a full debate on the underlying principles. Late in April the new provincial legislature found itself studying a number of amendments to the Edmonton Charter proposed by the Edmonton Council, among them two designed to increase council control over the commissioners. One would have reduced the two-thirds majority Council required to dismiss a commissioner. The other would have taken all administrative powers from the commissioners and vested them in the Council with the latter retaining the option of delegating authority to the commissioners.

As Alderman Griesbach argued the case before the legislative committee of the whole, the question was whether commissioners' powers should be derived from the legislature as ensconced in the Charter, or from the City Council. As it was, he claimed, the commissioners were out of public control. Members of the legislature, including Attorney General Cross, himself an Edmonton law partner of William Short, seemed inclined to believe petty quibbling underpinned the Edmonton Council's principles. Cross' legal partner, Short, was also present to make with confidence the same points as in 1904. Business involving \$800,000 and more, contended Short, required consist-

ent planning and executive administration. The Council changed composition each year and aldermen had not sufficient time to spend on administration. Indeed, he observed, "the better the aldermen the less time they have," for they would properly be addressing their attention to legislating policy. Better that administrative details be left to commissioners responsible to the elected council but free of undue "cajolery". It was the system of the joint stock company that Short advocated, with aldermen in the place of directors, commissioners in the place of managers. The amendments requested had not been placed before a public meeting in the city nor, Short was certain, would the businessmen of Edmonton either request or accept them. Noting little urgency, Cross commented that more general municipal legislation was in any case due next year, and the amendments died in committee.

Along the same line, both J. R. Boyle (once an alderman and now a Liberal M.L.A.) and the Edmonton Bulletin's editor viewed the city as a twenty million dollar "gigantic stock company". For the ratepayers who constituted the stockholders, it was ludicrous that City Council as the board of directors should consume so much time debating "a six foot plank sidewalk on the east side of steenth street from Beautiful avenue to Black Stump lane." A general manager should handle the details and, on the basis of regular supervisors' reports, issue monthly statements to Council to permit sensible policy decisions.³⁴

Nevertheless, in November Alderman Griesbach made a surprising suggestion in the form of a by-law to raise the

number of aldermen from eight to ten. Twelve would be even better, he argued, both to lighten onerous work loads and also to permit institution of the apparently popular ward system. But if Griesbach seemed to desert earlier elitest principles in order to counteract increasing bureaucratic power, most of his colleagues maintained theirs. Alderman Bellamy observed wryly that Griesbach's proposition would mean fifty aldermen when the city reached a population of 75,000. Though Griesbach had minority support, he lost his second voluntarist alternative to a paid and expanding civil service.³⁵ The fact was that debates on the bureaucratic arrangement were resolved in 1906 in favour of the streamlined corporate approach to civic business, for the cause of Council irritability - increasing work - was simultaneously the chief argument for continuation of commissioners' services.

The city's plunge into massive public works did not fail to stimulate some dissent which brought to the attention of civic leaders the existence of Edmonton's social diversity. Some of the outcomes of the boom and the city's corporate response briefly aggravated distinctions in the populace which were both highlighted and dissipated during the year end municipal elections. On the surface, the strain expressed in the electoral framework was an east-west division of opinions, but there were several layers of complexity. There was some hint of a clash of the deprived with the privileged, and among ethnic groups. Signs of animosity against west enders on the part of east enders embodied not simply business rivalries but also other frictions which would in later years be aired by labour

or "populist" representatives.

In 1906, however, the form organized labour would take in Edmonton was just being hammered into shape, largely because of determined organizational work by the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress and the American Federation of Labor. Late in August travelling organizers of those two associations rallied Edmonton tradesmen and labourers in a series of meetings. They urged not only formation of new unions (there were probably not yet a dozen in Edmonton) and emphasis on the "union label", but also affiliation of the new Edmonton Trades and Labor Council (organized in December, 1905) with the Trades and Labor Congress. Typographers, plumbers, lathers, bricklayers and carpenters had been the first to accept the ET and LC motto, "An Injury to One is the Concern of All." They were joined in 1906 by the cigarmakers, barbers, hod carriers and builders' labourers, joiners, blacksmiths, painters, tinner and teamsters. The resulting enthusiasm carried through the ET and LC's first Labor Day program. While the "Caledonian sports" of track and field and the bicycle races and the Strathcona-Edmonton baseball contest all had to be cancelled because of rain, the three hundred who marched in the morning parade behind the mayor and aldermen made quite an impact. The Bulletin judged the procession "a triumph for labor unionism" and "the largest turn-out of organized labor ever seen in Northern Alberta." But on the other hand, if the enthusiasm was there, it proved premature to attempt collective participation in the December municipal elections. The ET and LC delegates decided against complicating further the crowded electoral scene.³⁶

Even a September strike of builders' labourers was something of a novelty. When demands for increased pay over a reduced workday were first made, Edmonton Council as one of the employers reacted against the collective approach, taking the position any raises should be on the basis of individual merit. 300 builders' labourers, 200 of them union members, then walked off their jobs on public works and other building projects to conduct an open air meeting. Five days later, when the builders' exchange negotiated a compromise contract reducing hours but maintaining wage rates, along the lines of a precedent arranged with an assortment of building tradesmen in the spring, city commissioners still avoided a formal contract agreement while assuring their sewer construction employees of equivalent treatment.³⁷ Edmonton unionists had some distance to go to achieve collective recognition for bargaining procedures, let alone prepare political campaigns.

Working people's concerns were therefore submerged in the east-west controversy in the last half of 1906. That confrontation derived substantial impetus from fall railway affairs. First veteran alderman Thomas Bellamy reacted with heated animosity to the city's detailed agreement with the GTP in which, among other things, he foresaw problems of citizen access to established east end streets across which the GTP would be permitted to build. West enders like Griesbach displayed benign complacency during Bellamy's onslaught,³⁸ but the tables were neatly turned a few weeks later when it came time to consider the simple request from the C.P.R. for permission to cross several streets on the level from the

north end of the proposed high level bridge. These were in the middle of the fashionable west end residential area.

During the debate on this proposition over the next three months, the Board of Trade was very clear about its recommendation: to force the C.P.R. to cross in the east rather than the west end, a solution condemned by one alderman as blatantly "saving west end property at the deliberate expense of east end property." Not only Board spokesman William Short, but also the leader of a bitter west end committee of rate-payers, prominent merchant and ex-Mayor John A. McDougall, delved deep into traditional Edmonton business hostility for the C.P.R. If the location was not to be moved, then Short, the Board of Trade and Alderman Griesbach among others looked for "an abatement of nuisances" and some way to avoid cutting main streets "to the detriment of the established interests." At the very least, west enders looked for a complex combination of subway and overhead bypasses, no use of whistles or bells in the vicinity, and the search for "smokeless coal" or "other inoffensive motive power." Council added a stipulation that the three railway companies agree to share a union station, but even the assistance of the federal government in the negotiations gave scant hope for that prospect.³⁹ It would be a long time yet before the details were settled. For the time being one cannot help but notice that east enders - even those with long residence in Edmonton - saw no comparable need to refer to old C.P.R. wounds in discussion of the high level bridge location.

They were far less sanguine about the Council's select-

ion of a site for the proposed isolation hospital, and other resentments accumulated. A vitriolic letter to the editor of the Bulletin in August decried the arrogant assumption of residential superiority in the west end and condemned their efforts to move the C.P.R. bridge to the east end. The writer was not the first to recommend an east rather than the chosen west end location for the planned parliament buildings. In a May byelection to fill the aldermanic seat vacated by the new M.L.A., J. R. Boyle, there was an east end candidate named Koermann nominated by individuals, among others, with the names Fibiger, Mikota and Nikiforuk. In November, F. W. Brown, proprietor of the Hub Cigar Store, fostered the notion of a straight east end aldermanic ticket and listed the year's grievances in vehement style. "If I had my way," he told a Bulletin interviewer, "not a man west of First street would go into next year's Council, and this business of beautifying the west end with lovely boulevards and elegant drives while labor is too scarce to comply with the hundreds of applications for street connections by east enders should stop." He deplored plans for the expensive new sewer project which seemed to him to place 90 percent of new lateral lines west of First street and he had similar ideas on the planned street car line and paving. He was outraged that the garbage incinerator was slated for construction "right in the middle of the residential section of the east end."

They tell us that this garbage doesn't smell; that the plant will be a nice place - in fact an ornament. All right. Then we will locate the plant somewhere along McKay or Victoria. I think about a block from the new parliament buildings would suit.⁴⁰

Large and boisterous public meetings in the east end were followed by petitions against the incinerator location, for water connections to the populous north part of east Edmonton, and against ongoing installation of pipe in large parts of the west end where there were no residents at all. Another meeting chaired by Brown to select east end aldermanic candidates was hugely attended, allowing organizers to envision a central committee of no fewer than 100 to direct a canvasser for every block in the city. No effort was made to affect the mayoralty campaign, although the Journal later accused the Liberal "machine" of putting special effort into campaigning among Galicians against Griesbach. Indeed, at one east end meeting which packed Rudyk's hall "to suffocation," all three mayoralty candidates were given speaking time, and all three showed their awareness of the sudden east end agitation. Veteran alderman Thomas Bellamy expressed surprise and concern at the evidence of sectional differences, but was not above hoping for "a smoke stack in every block if it gave employment to labor." The fully employed could then move away from any smoke nuisance which might result. Griesbach castigated Bellamy for his remarkable new patronizing air to east end workingmen; then himself capitulated reluctantly to the idea of ward representation and posed as the champion of broader representation through his scheme of an enlarged Council. The third mayoralty candidate, H. A. Dawson, noted that east end neglect was matched by west end upset over C.P.R. rail location plans, and claimed he would push water and sewerage extension vigorously to prevent disease epidemics. That east

enders did not concentrate on the mayoralty contest is shown in the balanced division of support in east and west end Edmonton for the candidates, particularly frontrunners Griesbach and Bellamy.⁴¹

The keynote of the east end aldermanic campaign was expressed by candidate Thomas Daly, who "said that he had no particular grievance against the present Council except that they were very dirty housekeepers and that they swept a great deal of dirt into the east end." A fellow candidate, Dr. W. McCauley, attacked another east end concern with his own calculation that there had been at least 500 cases of typhoid in the city during the summer and 35 to 40 deaths as a consequence. He maintained that "typhoid was a filth disease, a preventable disease, and that there was no excuse for it if the city's water and sewer works were in proper condition." Besides specific issues, the campaign contained other overtones. Candidate Gustav Koermann, editor since 1903 of the German language newspaper, the Alberta Herold, was a German immigrant by way of Philadelphia and Winnipeg. The ethnic interest was also hinted in the use of Paul Rudyk's hall and in the innuendo of Journal editorials. That an appeal was being made to labour was evident in the platform's clause promising union wages and union hours to city employees.⁴²

Other points of discussion, such as the general problem of coping with utilities expansion, did indeed arise, but the basic east-west contest was underlined by the election results. Conveniently for analysis, there were two polling stations, one in the east end, one in the west end. Three of the five

east end aldermanic candidates were successful, and the other two placed sixth (Koermann) and seventh in the field of fourteen. Their success was clearly a function of their campaign on behalf of the east end residents: nearly 80 percent of their support came at the east end poll. By contrast, the other two successful candidates, James B. Walker and Wilfrid Gariepy, drew two-thirds of their votes from the west end poll.⁴³ In the mayoralty contest, young Griesbach easily defeated the veteran Bellamy and the inexperienced Dawson.

Whereas a division of outlook was developing in Edmonton to be both expressed and contained in the framework of the municipal election, no such phenomenon appeared in Strathcona. Former town solicitor N. D. Mills won the mayoralty with an attitude of vigorous attack on the problem of business stagnation. In his analysis, "the business centre was a poor one for the size of the town" because improvements were taxed; he would introduce a single property tax to induce businessmen to build on their lots as in Edmonton. Philosophically he opposed bonusing, but in the west of Canada he believed it necessary to stimulate manufacturing industry. That was his reason for supporting acquisition of a city charter which would allow Strathcona greater power over land. By contrast, his opponent, A. H. Richards, rejected the prospect of "bonusing every concern on every hand" in favour of "a calm, cool council, perhaps even a slow council," although his platform differed little from Mills' in other details. Mills' dedication to future development was expressed as well in his argument for iron water pipes in place of the wooden ones being installed.

This brought an angry reaction from incumbent Mayor Sheppard, who evidently did not like the suggestion his administration had made the wrong - even a backward - choice. In Strathcona the significant issues reflected preoccupation with the failure of Strathcona to match Edmonton's urban boom.⁴⁴

That boom had done more than increase Edmonton's population. It transformed the Edmonton community; committed Edmontonians to the corporate approach to keeping the expansion going and to the collective attack on common requirements for services. The municipal councils and related civic organizations became increasingly and irrevocably important, not only as expansion emphasized the need for physical and health services, but also as the civic debt mounted. To discharge that debt would necessarily mean the continuation or adaptation of the institutions through which it had accumulated. The eager acquisition of utilities was made by the community as a whole (in financial terms); the community as a whole must discharge the cost over a long period of time and the community already had a taste in some cases of the way this process inevitably was extended by the necessity to maintain and improve those services. In addition, the persistence of problems like epidemic disease and poverty was forcing increasing community attention to public health and welfare, a commitment equally difficult to retreat from once entered. Finally, municipal politics functioned to neutralize resentments which simmered during the process of urban growth and integration. Edmontonians were irrevocably on their way to an immersion in corporate at the expense of individual existence. And the strain on

Strathcona's capacity to provide urban services was insistently highlighting the easier solution of amalgamation with larger Edmonton.

Footnotes

1. Edmonton Bulletin (EB), August 18, November 24, 1906. For Canadian interest in the single tax, see A. F. J. Artibise, "Boosterism and the Development of Prairie Cities, 1871-1913," in Artibise, Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development (Regina, Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1981), 224-227, and Ramsay Cook, "Henry George and the Poverty of Canadian Progress," CHA Historical Papers (1977), 143-156.
2. EB, June 12, 13, 20, 29, August 11, 16, November 10, 12, 15, 1906.
3. Dale, "The Role of the City Council in the Economic and Social Development of Edmonton, Alberta, 1892-1966" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1969), 58-60; Edmonton Journal (EJ), May 9, 1906.
4. Dale, "The Role," 61; EB, June 2, 29, 1906.
5. Dale, "The Role," 80; EB, January 3, 20, 24, February 22, March 8, April 6, 9, 14, 25-28, May 23, June 6, 29, August 11, 16, 1906.
6. Dale, "The Role," 66-70; EB, January 3, February 21, March 8, 9, 14, 31, June 6, 13, 22, July 11, August 20, November 15, December 1, 19, 1906.
7. Dale, "The Role," 84-89; EJ, January 17, 1906; EB, January 19-24, March 8, 9, 14, September 22, October 19, 20, November 7, December 15, 18, 1906.
8. Dale, "The Role," 120-124; EB, February 1, March 14, April 14, June 29, August 9, 16, 18, 1906.
9. EB, October 12, November 15, 1906.
10. See John C. Weaver, "Edmonton's Perilous Course, 1909-1929," Urban History Review, No. 2-77 (October, 1977); Artibise, "Boosterism;" Dale, "The Role of the City Council."
11. EJ, January 11, 1906; EB, January 10, 24, 27, 30, February 14, September 19, 22, 26, December 19, 1906.
12. EB, January 3, April 28, May 2, June 6, 13, 14, 26, 27, 29, July 25, August 16, 1906.

13. Strathcona Council Minutes, January 2, February 6, 20, March 20, April 13, July 10, 24, October 16, November 6, 1906; Edmonton City Archives (ECA); EB, January 3, 16, 24, March 23, June 23, 29, July 6, August 25, September 4, 8, December 27, 1906; Gilpin, "The City of Strathcona," 74; Taylor, "The Urban West, Public Welfare, and a Theory of Urban Development," in A. R. McCormack and Ian Macpherson, eds., Cities in the West (Ottawa, National Museum of Man, 1975, 294-298.
14. EB, January 5, 18, March 9, April 14, August 27, October 12, November 24, 1906; EJ, July 2, 1906; Tony Cashman, Edmonton's Catholic Schools (Edmonton, Roman Catholic Separate School District No. 7, 1977), 48-9.
15. John F. Gilpin, "The City of Strathcona 1891-1912" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1978), 135; Minutes, Grand Trunk Pacific Directors' meetings, November 8, 1906 and February 7, 1907: Public Archives of Canada, C.N.R. Papers, RG 30, vol. 1104, pp. 269, 299; EB, February 7, March 10, June 30, 1906.
16. Dale, "The Role," 32; EB, February 7, April 6, 11, 14, 19, September 8, November 7, 13, 21, 1906; EJ, December 6, 1906.
17. Dale, "The Role," 24-26.
18. EB, February 3, 13, March 28, July 11, 1906.
19. EB, February 28, March 9, 1906.
20. EB, February 3, 15, March 28, September 11, 1906; Strathcona Council Minutes, October 30, 1906 at pp. 432-3.
21. Gilpin, "The City of Strathcona," 64-74; Information scattered through Strathcona Council Minutes, 1906, pp. 349-450; EB, June 30, 1906.
22. EB, January 9, April 7, 1906; EJ, October 3, 1906; Gilpin, "The City of Strathcona," 48.
23. Dale, "The Role," 120-4; EB, January 3, 9, 10, February 21, April 4, June 30-July 6, November 10, 1906.
24. Gilpin, "The City of Strathcona," 108-9, 121-3.
25. Ibid., 123-131; G.T.P. Directors' meeting, Montreal, February 1, 1906: C.N.R. Papers, vol. 1104, p. 179.
26. Strathcona Council Minutes, January 20, March 14, May 30, June 4, July 3, 1906; Gilpin, "The City of Strathcona," 26-7.
27. This paragraph and the following one are drawn from Strathcona Council Minutes, April 17, June 19, September 4, 27, October 16, 23, November 6, 20, 27, 1906; EB, January 2, February 3, 26, April 11, May 3, 7, June 13, 21, 1906; Gilpin, "The City of Strathcona," 140-1.

28. Strathcona Council Minutes, November 21, December 29, 1905, January 3, 16, February 6, March 12, April 3, 9, 17, May 15, June 4, July 6, 17, 1906; Gilpin, "The City of Strathcona," 70-71, 75; EB, March 12, April 9, 11, June 28, 1906.
29. Gilpin, "The City of Strathcona," 139-140; Strathcona Council Minutes, September 11, 18, 1906.
30. Dale, "The Role," 80; Strathcona Council Minutes, June 19, October 16, November 6, December 28, 1906; EB, April 28, November 7, 13, December 8, 27, 29, 1906.
31. Weaver, "Edmonton's Perilous Course," 21-23; Artibise, "Boosterism," 214-215, 223-225; Dale, "The Role of the City Council," 104; J. D. Anderson, "The Municipal Government Reform Movement in Western Canada 1880-1920," in A. F. J. Artibise and Gilbert A. Stelter, eds., The Usable Urban Past (Toronto, Macmillan, 1979), 78-96; EB, August 14, 1906.
32. EB, December 8, 1905, February 28, March 8, 9, 24-31, 1906.
33. EB, March 30-April 5, 19, May 12, 25, 28, June 6, 13, 14, 20, 21, September 19, 1906.
34. EB, March 7, April 21, May 3, December 3, 1906.
35. EB, November 7, 15, 1906.
36. EB, August 21, 27, 28, September 1, 4, November 27, 1906; Alberta Labor News supplement Labor Annual, September 3, 1921, p. 41; Monthly issues of Labour Gazette, vols. 6 and 7, February, 1906-February, 1907; W. R. Askin, "Labor Unrest in Edmonton and District and its Coverage by the Edmonton Press, 1918-1919" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1973), 6-7; W. J. C. Cherwinski, "Organized Labour in Saskatchewan: The TLC Years, 1905-1945" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Alberta, 1972), 11-13; Robert Babcock, Gompers in Canada (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1974), 51-53.
37. EB, April 23, September 12, 17, 22, 1906; Labour Gazette, vol. 6 (June, 1906), 1339-40.
38. EB, August 18, 25, 1906.
39. EB, September 1, 4, 8, 10, 11, November 5, 14, 1906.
40. EB, January 3, April 28, May 2, June 6, 13, 14, 26, 27, 29, July 25, August 16, 25, November 9, 1906.
41. EB, November 14, 17, 20, 30, 1906; EJ, December 11, 13, 1906.
42. EB, November 14, 17, 20, 30, December 6, 8, 1906; EJ, December 11, 13, 1906.

43. EJ, December 6, 10, 11, 1906; EB, December 6, 11, 15, 1906.
44. EB, November 28, December 6, 11, 1906; EJ, December 6, 11, 1906.

Chapter 11: Voluntary Associations.

Unlike the Women's Hospital Aids Societies of Edmonton and Strathcona, which might in some respects be termed Edmonton's first service clubs, the favourite clubs (at least numerically) to claim the voluntary attention of Edmonton men were still fraternal lodges, ethnically defined associations, political organizations (particularly the Liberal Party) and select local elite clubs. In the long list it is difficult to notice any change since 1898 save expansion. In other fields, church organizations were undergoing a transformation and new additions appeared in professional and occupationally defined societies, cultural groups, military and juvenile organizations. The impression is therefore not of a radical break with established patterns but of a gradual transition to urban community forms of voluntary association. Recreational and especially sports organization in 1906 illustrate the trend so well as to deserve special examination.

The demand for pure fraternity could not be expected to decline while the city expanded. The clubs of ritual rather than service therefore continued to proliferate, their titles betraying their lack of other local purpose. Ancient, Independent and Canadian Orders of Foresters, not to mention the Edmonton Camp, Woodmen of the World, presumably reminded their brethren of the ever remoter link they had with North American frontier conditions. The Knights and Ladies of the Maccabees evoked an even more distant chivalric tradition and the old country to boot. The artificial attempt at exclusiveness shone through in the name of the Canadian Order of Chosen Friends.

All manner of age-old Masonic orders as well as the Oddfellows swelled the fraternal ranks while chapters of the brand new American orders of Elks and Eagles signified modern trendiness. Despite the "Canadian" label in some of the titles, the Edmonton chapters were part of a North American phenomenon. The most recent arrival, the Canadian Benevolent Order of Elks, for example, owed its origin in November to the efforts of a travelling organizer; the Canadian branch was itself a late appendage of a gigantic American organization begun in New York not forty years earlier. The continuing popularity of fraternities was demonstrated by an initial membership list of 280 young Elks in Edmonton, average age 28, the largest Canadian chapter outside Toronto.¹

Newspaper reports of fraternal activities reveal little or no diversity, merely an endless repetition of routine meetings and "most enjoyable" social occasions, primarily whist drives, dances and banquets. "Edmonton Tent No. 6, K.O.T.M. (Maccabees), meets in Unity Hall, Sandison Block, on the 1st and 3rd Wednesdays in each month at 8 p.m. sharp," read one perpetual and typical classified advertisement. "A cordial welcome will be extended to all visiting Knights." The ritual filled in much meeting time. The Brethren of Jasper Lodge, A.F. and A.M. were requested on one occasion to attend a "lodge of instruction" at the Masonic Hall. Simple maintenance engaged the efforts of travelling organizers - sometimes Americans - even after successful formation; local lodges would occasionally be obliged to meet with them as part of the regular course of events. Participation in provincial "grand lodges" also

emphasized the national and international dimensions of the homogeneity being imposed.² The Independent Order of Oddfellow's Grand Lodge of Alberta was large enough immediately on its formation to have full representation in the Canadian Sovereign Grand Lodge, apparently an unusual sign in Canada of initial strength. On the local level too the Oddfellows were firmly established. With a membership of 110 and growing, the Friendship Lodge of the IOOF in Edmonton followed the Masonic and Orange Lodges in the acquisition of its own meeting hall. Its members even showed unusual imagination in their entertainments, supplementing the usual dances and formal balls with a summer steamboat excursion.³

There was one very significant addition to the city's clubs which shared certain features of the fraternal orders. The Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire was of course a sorority rather than a fraternity, but it was international in scope, its chapters homogeneous in purpose and organization ever since its formation by the British Princess Louise at the turn of the century. The IODE sprang from a particular resurgence of imperial sentiment, with definite objectives other than to promote an imperial sisterhood. The "Westward Ho!" Chapter in Edmonton, the first in Alberta, undertook duties "Imperial, Patriotic and Philanthropic" with a will, and a second "Beaver House" Chapter (after the old nickname for Fort Edmonton) followed immediately. Their officers were the wives of very prominent Edmonton citizens, including Dr. H. C. Wilson, (ex-M.L.A.), Hon. C. W. Cross, and local Conservative M.L.A., A. F. Ewing.⁴ From the urban standpoint, two of their projects

had significant community impact, certainly more than their call on local churches to recognize Dominion Day in July 1 services. The "Westward Ho!" Chapter first proposed to raise money to purchase an ambulance for the city. To this end an April "Ball Poudre" drew some 300 "men and maidens" to the Thistle Rink and donations were solicited throughout the year. In November the "Beaver House" Chapter turned its energies to a scheme which would both promote desirable immigration and fill a demand among upper class Edmontonians: to bring "domestic servants from the motherland." An interesting bias prevailed in their announcement that "Scotch girls being considered more adapted to Canadian ways will have the preference but any preferring either English or Irish may have them by mentioning the fact in their application." Application here meant advance payment of the fare from Liverpool to Edmonton in return for a six month guaranteed stay by the domestic servant at a low wage less deductions until the fare was paid back to the employer. The genius of the scheme was thought to be its absolute zero cost except for services rendered and its expected tendency to encourage other British family members to come afterward.⁵

Though it had broader ramifications, the IODE was the Edmonton organization closest to the later style of the service club, required to make a contribution to the community. The IODE was also different from the fraternal orders in its frank identification with the British Empire, while most of the others (save the loyal Orange Order) had a North American context. There were other societies in Edmonton and Strathcona

with similar groundings in affection for the traditions of the homeland. Many of them were equally British, but we have already seen in the introduction to Edmonton's ethnic groups the persistence of French organizations and the emergence of Ukrainian and German communities. Of these new immigrant manifestations, the German Club Edelweiss was the most public. Its chairman was none other than federal immigration agent C. W. Sutter. Its meetings had a distinctive cultural overtone, with, for example, German musical selections providing some of the attraction; but on the other hand, British traditions were likewise represented in Scottish club entertainments and the Edelweiss Club staged dances and balls much as the other social clubs of the city would do and with the same orchestras. A new variant of old country culture was visibly recognizable in the erection of a hall for the Club Edelweiss in the east end on Kinistino Avenue. That it was useful for other German institutions as well was illustrated by the meeting held there by a travelling German Reformed Church missionary.⁶

Would not this alien cluster point in the city retard rather than promote civic community? For that matter, would not the gatherings of French language organizations, or such diverse British societies as the Sons of England, the Braemar Circle, the Caledonian Society and the vehemently anti-English United Irishmen not themselves tend to divert cooperative energy from the new urban community in which their members found themselves? Not likely. For Edmonton in 1906 it may not be easy to prove the validity of American urban historian Blake McKelvey's perceptive insights on the role of urban

ghettoes as assimilative agencies for "self-conscious minorities." McKelvey has argued that even violently separate groups have actually assisted the assimilation process in American cities.⁷ But a glance at the activities of Edmonton's "old country" clubs reveals only the mildest social identification of magnitude scarcely substantial enough to shake the larger community. In fact, there is little doubt that they could only have made whatever social or psychological adjustments were necessary easier by providing a little of the familiar pleasantries of old in the new place.

The United Irishmen gathered their forces in March, to organize a banquet in celebration of St. Patrick's Day, March 17. "Lodge Edmonton" of the Sons of England was simply a fraternal order to which membership was restricted by the qualification of birth or parents' birth in England.⁸ The Braemar Circle regularly enjoyed "the usual dance program, songs, cornet solos, Highland flings and Scotch reels." Their only departure was a magnanimous one for the city, the presentation of a "Scotch concert" in the Thistle Rink to raise money for the public hospital. The St. Andrew's Society annual highlight was a January Robbie Burns banquet, to which the Lieutenant-Governor, cabinet ministers and M.L.A.s and civic leaders were invited, and at which toasts were traded with "sister societies" like the St. Jean Baptiste Society and the Sons of England. When Scotsmen were invited in December to form the Caledonian Society, the fifty who responded did so specifically to hold weekly social meetings, sometimes to the tunes of the bagpipe. On "Hogmanay Night" (New Year's Eve), they extended the Scottish

celebration to dancing.⁹ Altogether, these descriptions give the dual impression of innocent traditional entertainment accompanied by occasional gestures of commitment to the larger Edmonton community.

As prosperity prevailed and seemed to increase daily, those who had been in Edmonton and Strathcona since at least the 1890s saw their earlier persistence vindicated. It was perhaps not surprising that old timers should wish to take credit for current good fortune. Sentiments like those in the following paean to Edmonton lovingly composed by a local resident and printed in the Bulletin were not unusual. Seven verses praised the city's founders for their patience and hard work in slow times and expressed a conviction that those early Edmontonians alone created the boom.

All praise to those who, tireless, wrought,
Who to this work such skill have brought,
That all these things have come to be
Whose consummation now we see.¹⁰

Organized recognition of these pioneers was still, as in 1898, embodied in the Old Timers' Association, but the organizations of a new elite were beginning to overshadow it. The exclusive Edmonton Club, formed in 1899 by 54 charter members, showed a membership of about 130 in 1906. It was enough to enable the construction of a spacious new clubhouse. Membership depended on sponsorship and acceptance by club members and substantial entrance and continuing subscription fees. That it was purely an elite social club of the city meant to transcend other divisions was emphasized by the very first article of the constitution, which forbade absolutely not only projects but even

mere discussions of a political or a religious nature. Another indication of intent was the insistence on decorum and dignity: "No whistling, singing or unseemly demonstrations are permitted in the Club house." The Edmonton Club included very few Strathconans. The first session of the Alberta legislature provided an alternative, a charter for a Strathcona Club, but only desultory discussions of this possibility took place in November.¹¹

The preponderance of professional men brought together for the urban community in the Edmonton Club were simultaneously involved energetically in a new range of professional societies: legal, medical, pharmaceutical, architectural and veterinarian. Their purposes were of course primarily self-regulatory, an effort to cope collectively with their economic and technical problems, but the Northern Alberta Medical Association, at least, had further urban significance. Mainly an organization of Edmonton and Strathcona medical men, the Association was a convenient group for consultation on matters of public health. In 1906 this took the form of a request for expert study of Edmonton's plans for an isolation hospital. In other respects the medical men's first priority in 1906 was the same as for other professions: reorientation of their organizations within a provincial rather than the previous territorial context. Amidst the reorganization two new associations affecting Edmonton professionals were chartered: the Alberta Society of Architects and the Alberta Veterinary Association.¹²

The proliferation of professional specialists in Edmonton and their coordination of effort in societies had their counterparts in other areas. Because of its agricultural

setting Edmonton was the setting for the meetings of agricultural organizations: the Alberta Farmers' Association, the American Society of Equity, and the Alberta Poultry and Pet Association. On the other hand, a particularly urban group serving those farmers was also organized as the Edmonton District Retail Merchants' Association, which included Strathcona, Fort Saskatchewan and St. Albert representatives.¹³ All these organizations did more than merely coordinate specialists of a kind. Equally important, they introduced provincial, Canadian and international standardization to Edmonton practices; they helped make Edmonton life in certain respects indistinguishable from urban life elsewhere.

A similar universality was evident in the overwhelming visibility of Liberal Party organization in Edmonton's federal and provincial politics. Although there were certainly plenty of prominent citizens allied with the Conservative Party, the Liberals in 1906 seemed determined to identify the community with their organization. Though there was a Conservative newspaper (the Journal) which was ever ready to take issue with its Liberal rival (the Bulletin), in other respects the Conservatives still had no equivalent to the Liberal organizational activities. Firmly established in both federal and provincial governments, the Liberals had no difficulty winning a Strathcona (urban and rural) federal byelection with a Strathcona candidate, Dr. W. McIntyre.¹⁴ But there was more to Liberal preeminence in the Edmonton urbanism than that.

The senior organization in each constituency was the Liberal Association which, for the most part, devoted itself

to regular business meetings. On occasion, however, its members could stage a spectacular civic event designed to impress citizens with the magnitude of the local Liberal fact. Frank Oliver was "Honourable" now, a cabinet minister in the Laurier government with an extremely important western portfolio, that of the Interior. In October, local Liberals took advantage of his visit to Edmonton to stage a massive publicity event, a banquet in his honour in Thistle Rink. Not far below 500 tickets were sold for the extravaganza; nearly 450 men sat down to the feast, including Edmonton alderman and president of the Liberal Association of Edmonton, R. J. Manson. The Association and Party in Edmonton cut across ethnic lines, so that in addition to the British and French names, the list of officers included G. Koermann.¹⁵ An even more active and regular community presence was established by the new Young Liberal Club, which expressly added to a political function the social one of fraternity and collective entertainment. Less than a year old at the beginning of 1906, a year later the Club boasted an active membership of 185 to participate in mock parliaments, debates on women's suffrage or the question of Chinese exclusion from Canada, and the recreation of a well rehearsed male chorus.¹⁶ In 1906 no local Liberal doubted that the Liberal Party represented Edmonton in the province's and nation's political arenas.

Cultural integration was only haltingly promoted by organized groups in Edmonton. The relevant organizations in this field were of two kinds: literary and musical. Their interests were more specific than was the mass entertainment

brought into the city from outside (which will be discussed separately), but their effect in highlighting works generally accepted in the western world was the same, only weaker. Consider the programs of the High School Literary Societies, the Literary Society of Alberta College, the Women's Literary Society and the Alberta Literary Society. The young people's societies concentrated on debates, recitation and elocution, but on occasion produced musical programs of standard works. The Women's Literary Society spent the spring reading and discussing Shakespeare's "As You Like It." A comparable Ladies' Musical Society met in members' homes regularly.¹⁷

In 1906 Edmonton took a major step into the mainstream of Canadian military life. Strong January rumours that three independent squadrons of Canadian Mounted Rifles were to be formed in Edmonton, Strathcona and Fort Saskatchewan were turned into reality late in April. Edmonton's Major S. Paton and Strathcona's Major F. C. Jamieson received instructions to enroll seventy-five non-commissioned officers and men in each of "A" and "B" Squadrons. Paton and Jamieson each had the assistance of five commissioned officers, Paton's including Lieutenant W. A. Griesbach. The new military presence had several interesting social effects which became obvious during the two weeks of the first annual training camp from the end of June into early July. First, all three squadrons camping and drilling together on "Groat's flats" along the North Saskatchewan river in Edmonton's west end could not help but attract general attention from surrounding cliffside viewpoints. The camp was open to visitors for a time each after-

noon. One Saturday night the non-commissioned officers and men of "A" Squadron (Edmonton) gave a "smoker and bonfire entertainment" to all their friends. Sunday church parades were advertised and the public invited. The Canadian Mounted Rifles concluded their training with a public show of their marching form at the Edmonton Exhibition on a day when 3,300 visitors paid to attend the fair and countless school children were admitted free of charge.¹⁸

The officers defined a new element (albeit with many of the same individuals) of Edmonton's elite. Ladies attending an "At Home" given by the officers at the camp were "received by the officers in full dress uniform." When the same officers staged a formal dinner in honour of the visiting Inspector General of the Canadian Militia, Lord Aylmer, their guests included Lieutenant-Governor Bulyea; the Hon. Frank Oliver, Attorney General Cross, the two mayors, Strathcona M.P. Dr. McIntyre, Senators Roy and Talbot, Edmonton Board of Trade President A. T. Cushing, Edmonton Club President T. A. Stevenson, Edmonton Exhibition Association President Joseph Morris, RNWMP Captain Strickland, M.L.A. Frank Walker and the Rev. Henry Allan Gray. Lord Aylmer, with his staff and officers of the C.M.R., was subsequently entertained at luncheon by Edmonton city officials. Edmonton and Strathcona were successfully integrated into the Canadian military tradition with the establishment of the C.M.R. squadrons. Furthermore, at the end of the year plans were underway to enroll men in a local infantry regiment.¹⁹

Some of this might help to explain the popularity in

their first year of the Boys' Brigades. Already underway before 1906, the Boys' Brigades of St. Paul's and All Saints' Anglican, McDougall and Grace Methodist, and First Presbyterian churches were troubled in the first few months of the year by poor attendance at regular meetings. Drill and various programs filled the meetings, including in one case a slide lecture on the Boer War by Rev. H. A. Gray, and in several others the participation of the boys in recitation and song presentations. An upswing in membership, whether coincidental or not, followed the arrival from England of fifty boys' uniforms. The Brigades were centrally coordinated by an executive council of what was called the Edmonton Battalion (W. A. Griesbach, honorary president). By late April, a membership of well over 100 boys was reported to Battalion Council meetings; in May a Brigade at First Baptist Church joined the Battalion. Members by this time sported not only uniforms but also rifles, and were reviewed by C.M.R. officers at the June C.M.R. camp and at the Exhibition. Bugle bands were contemplated by the All Saints' Anglican and Grace Methodist Brigades, but in the fall activity tapered off once again to regular parades and variety presentations.²⁰

While it was a notable phenomenon as an extension of the military flavour into Edmonton society, it is perhaps even more remarkable as an introduction to the increasing emphasis of major Protestant churches on non-worship community activities. The Boys' Brigade was organized under the direction of Anglican Rev. Herbert Wilkinson in 1905 on the Ontario model with which he was familiar and which he said would have "a

disciplinary as well as a social and religious" purpose.²¹

All the major denominations had developed men's, women's and young people's societies, of which several had advanced beyond purely religious worship and fraternity. The Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist men's and youth groups in particular often met to debate issues of local or national community interest: topics included government ownership of the "liquor traffic", government ownership of great monopolies like railways and mining companies, the merits of commercial competition to economic progress, the abolition of the Canadian senate, the value of the British Crown, comparative merits of certain nationalities, the relative superiority of country versus city life, and the relationship of advanced civilization to true happiness. Several different groups engaged in literary studies, chiefly of Tennyson.²²

Entertainment by and for these clubs was often too popular for the confines of church halls, and might be staged in the Orange Hall on the north side or Ross Hall on the south side of the river. First Presbyterian young people once presented a "Scotch social"; First Baptist young people an "Irish" social and both All Saints' Anglican and the south side St. Anthony's Catholic churches seemed to favour the game known as "progressive pedro". Skating parties and "At Homes" were popular in winter; lawn socials in summer. St. Paul's Anglican Church had an athletic club. Occasionally there was inter-denominational cooperation, as when the Young Men's Clubs of Grace Methodist and St. Paul's Anglican churches arranged a chess tournament. The value of such social interchange not just

to the churches but also to the larger urban community was made explicit in a practice of the First Presbyterian congregation. The intention of its regular well-attended "social hours" after Sunday evening services was to welcome strangers.²³

Sometimes entertainment was offered by these organizations with the help of congregational choirs to the community at large, usually in the form of concerts partly or entirely secular, but sometimes in other forms. The "Willing Workers' Mission Band" of All Saints' Anglican church provided the music for Edmonton's annual fancy dress costume skating carnival at Thistle Rink, attended by more than 1,000 revellers. Anglican and Catholic ladies contributed to Edmonton's midsummer fair by running the dining halls. All Saints' Ladies' Aid presented a comic tableau, "Mrs. Jarley's Wax Works" to a packed house. That there could be quite a range in the flavour of entertainments provided by different congregations was obvious during the Christmas season. Strathcona's Holy Trinity Anglican Sunday school concert in Ross Hall provided items like "Santa Claus and the Mouse" and a "May Pole Drill," while a neighbouring Baptist concert was held in the church with a much more resolutely worshipful program.²⁴ Despite these differences, all the established congregations were equally energetic and undoubtedly contributed a hefty share of Edmonton's community social activities.

While no figures are easily at hand for this intercensus year, the largest denominational representation - indicated by as many as three congregations each in Edmonton and Strathcona and expanding facilities - was still Presbyterian,

Anglican, Methodist, Roman Catholic and Baptist. The last named seem to have expanded their membership considerably since 1898, with a new church capacity of 600 on the north side and a notable increase in their community involvement.²⁵

Within their own confines, and with far less public profile, some of the smaller congregations may have served some of the same functions, often with ethnic and class twists. An account of the origin of the German Baptist church, formed on the combined initiative of western Canadian Baptists and the American German Baptist Conference, emphasizes the majority of "servant girls and labourers" who comprised the early congregation. A survey of occupations for citizens of German ethnic origin in Henderson's Directory roughly confirms the same working class (labourers and tradesmen) characteristics for the two German Lutheran congregations whose members made up a far larger population than did the German Baptists.²⁶ Even though the initiative for Ukrainian Greek Catholic organization in Edmonton came from Roman Catholic officials anxious to fend off the ministry of Protestants and of Russian Orthodox priests, the formation of St. Josaphat's parish was accepted by its people again largely on the basis of ethnic familiarity. These churches, we might speculate with reasonable assurance, provided a social buffer against the strangeness of local institutions and thus eased the transition. As with the Germans, the Ukrainians ministered to were mainly servant girls in Protestant households gradually supplemented by working class families.²⁷

The east end was, on the other hand, the usual location

for an entirely different religious manifestation: the revival meeting. The Rev. C. H. Huestis of McDougall Methodist Church (in city centre at the fringe of the east end) seems to have perceived a need early in the year when he conducted a series of evening "special revival meetings" himself. But the regular denominations were not normally responsible for such services. The Rev. Oscar L. King, Free Methodist missionary who divided his time between the city and the countryside in his revival meetings, began with services in private homes at the beginning of the year, briefly got the cooperation of German Baptist clergyman A. Hagar to hold evening services with the help of Rev. Mrs. Lizzie J. King in the German Baptist Church, and when the weather improved pitched his Gospel Tent at the corner of east end Syndicate and Clara streets. There he addressed decidedly personal rather than community subjects: one was "Hell - Where it is; What it is; and Who goes there." Without exactly becoming widespread, the phenomenon showed signs of becoming a distinctive urban occurrence, one unassociated with the city's middle class. In November a series of "special evangelistic services" was conducted in east end Unity Hall and in the south side Walters Hall by a visiting English evangelist and his assistant.²⁸ Without too much stretch of the imagination, these services can be seen as appeals to discontented souls with messages of basic truths designed to set them at rest. As such, they had palliative urban social significance.

Two new non-congregational institutions of established churches had become most conspicuous by 1906: Alberta College and the Young Men's Christian Association. In this short period

preceding the opening of the University of Alberta, the Alberta College enjoyed its greatest impact on the community. Early in 1903 officers of McDougall Methodist Church campaigned in favour of a Methodist college in Edmonton. Finding enthusiasm and financial support in Edmonton, a committee of the Manitoba and North-West Conference of the Methodist Church recommended action, which was then planned jointly by the Canadian Methodist Church's Secretary of Education and the local congregation. In July, 1903 Professor J. H. Riddell of Wesley College, Winnipeg was invited to become Alberta College's first principal, and incorporation by the legislative assembly of the Northwest Territories followed in 1904. Unable to make an academic link with the University of Manitoba, Alberta College accepted affiliation with McGill University, which permitted the College to provide two years of the Arts course which would be accredited to students wishing to proceed to a third year at McGill. Until 1908, therefore, Alberta College occupied a special position in the lives of educated Edmontonians.²⁹

By 1906 Alberta College educated and trained more than 300 students annually, the majority not in the university program, it is true, but rather in matriculation and commercial courses. An advertisement for daytime and evening typing and shorthand courses boasted that 100 graduates of those courses had been successfully placed in stenographers' and related office positions. Other part-time programs were offered in music and elocution. Principal Riddell, though delighted that the College appeared to be satisfying substantial and diverse demand, professed the College's primary aim to be "to touch

the lives of the young men and women and enrich the citizenship of our growing province." Many residential students were from points outside Edmonton and Strathcona, but the College was known best within the urban centre. Participation in football and hockey competition with other city teams as well as occasional presentations of music and elocution reinforced that impression. The College's profile was much higher than that of a private day school for girls which was concurrently getting organized. The official opening of a new Alberta College school year in November drew more than 300 onlookers, including the Premier, the Lieutenant-Governor and the mayor.³⁰

Of even more significance to the urban community was the ambitious organization of the Young Men's Christian Association. It was rather symbolic that 1904, the year of city incorporation, was the year the highly organized Y.M.C.A. replaced the voluntary Edmonton Young Men's Institute which had depended since 1899 largely on the time and effort donated by such busy fatherly figures as John A. McDougall and Rev. H. A. Gray. When the organization of hockey, tennis, lacrosse, cricket, instructional classes and a debating club grew beyond the capacity of the voluntary organizers to coordinate them, McDougall turned to a more professional substitute. His discussions late in 1903 with other men concerned to ensure organized recreation for men in the burgeoning city led to a mass meeting in January, 1904 to initiate plans for formation of a Y.M.C.A. chapter. On the advice of the international secretary of the long established Y.M.C.A., W. M. Parsons, money was immediately subscribed for the purchase of lots and a committee was

struck to canvass for building funds. The original organizing committees and boards of directors were peopled by individuals whose names read like a "who's who" of Edmonton business and professional men. A location was acquired in 1905 and in January, 1906 the Board followed normal Y.M.C.A. procedure by inviting R. B. Chadwick, secretary to the Y.M.C.A. in Belleville, Ontario, to become paid executive secretary for the Edmonton chapter.³¹

On his arrival in April, Chadwick outlined the immediate requirements: officers and a board of directors of prominent businessmen to build facilities worth up to \$75,000, and the appointment of a director of physical activities for the club as the beginning of a paid staff. By June a new campaign for \$60,000 was underway (to which well over \$45,000 was subscribed at year end), an architect was busy and a general contractor was ready to begin work. Excavation was complete in August and construction begun. During the public appeal for funds, Chadwick explained that the Y.M.C.A.'s purpose, to develop men "mentally, morally and physically," would require separate religious, education, physical, information, employment and relief departments. The physical trainer would take charge of the intelligent direction of the play spirit in order to instill good habits in boys "unconsciously". Similar community services would be performed for older men in businessmen's and technical education classes. He summed up by quoting U.S. President Roosevelt's accolade that the Y.M.C.A. "is one of the most potent influences in the life of the nation in promoting Christian citizenship." Even Methodist Rev. H. C.

Huestis' insistence that the Y.M.C.A. was not a substitute for church participation only emphasized further the appeal of the organization for its larger community value when he called it "an institution that commands the attention of successful businessmen." In November preparation began for a provincial bill of incorporation modelled on that of the Toronto Y.M.C.A. Both the Act of incorporation and the building were completed in 1907. Significantly, the charter added to Chadwick's earlier statement of Y.M.C.A. objectives the "social" improvement of young men.

This highly structured Protestant extension into urban community development contrasts markedly with the lag in the impetus of Protestant social purity movements. Activity seemed limited to periods of specific controversy, such as the June hearings on applications for liquor licenses. The Baptist Church had early in the year declared its opposition to the granting of any liquor licenses outside the city's business district, particularly any which might be proposed for the vicinity of the C.N.R. station. Nevertheless, Paul Rudyk's new east end International Hotel received its license, although two restaurants did not. The Baptists were roused to stage an isolated rally. The Alberta Methodist Conference happened to be meeting at that time in Edmonton: it took time out to resolve in favour of a "strong stand for prohibition of the liquor bar." The techniques of temperance sermons and temperance prayer meetings were the limit, however, of Methodist prohibitionist imagination, save for the call by Huestis for moral reform workers to participate in municipal politics to "get on the

'inside' and get control of the organization." Only Principal Riddell of Alberta College seemed to take his duties seriously, leading a delegation to press City Council to forbid liquor licenses to restaurants "on the ground that they were practically licensing saloons" and endangering young men. Alderman Griesbach responded that "he was a young man himself and he did not feel much afraid."³²

In the characterization of "saloons" lurked the parallel fear of debilitating gambling and prostitution. Open gambling in connection with the July Exhibition was resisted on both sides of the river as a "disgrace to the city" and primarily a police problem. Prostitution was treated in ways which demonstrated an official attitude of resignation. In response to one complaint, Alderman Picard pointed out that the area in question - around Norwood school in the north-east - had not been part of Edmonton before City incorporation. Extension of the boundaries therefore placed within city limits a red light district whose residents had not intended to establish themselves there. He therefore advocated some leniency, but civic officials moved to have the "houses of ill fame" removed. In December, however, police raids on "sporting houses" continued to result in substantial fines being collected in police court. Newspaper reports seemed to treat the problem as normal. In Strathcona, there was a variation on the theme: there a petition reached Council asking that town boundaries be extended to include the "houses of ill fame" situated just beyond the fringe, presumably so town policemen could make arrests. Council was content to leave jurisdiction in this

touchy matter to the RNWMP: boundaries remained for the time being as they were.³³

Yet moral reform raised at best sporadic enthusiasm. Members of the fraternal order known as the Royal Templars of Temperance, who had settled down to a routine of bi-monthly meetings interspersed with an occasional social "At Home", briefly launched a membership drive. The Presbytery of Edmonton got little further than a resolution on "The Relation of Presbyterianism to National Righteousness" which urged Presbyterian clergymen to deal "firmly and wisely" with the problems of "temperance, social purity and civic righteousness." Ironically, they then indicated pretty clearly the key stumbling block by their call for Presbyterian organizations to provide financial support for clergymen who might alienate some of their normal sources by a forthright stand on the issues. Aside from formation of a temperance and moral reform committee late in the year, little else was heard on the subject in Edmonton.³⁴

The cause was moribund despite the continued activity of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. The gentleman who worried in a letter to the Bulletin early in the year that prohibitionist agitation worked a "serious evil" by "filling the community with bitterness and asking good citizens to cast aside public works with the one object" of eliminating dispensation of liquor need not have concerned himself. Edmonton's may have been the Alberta W.C.T.U.'s "banner Union as regards membership," yet it had but fifty-one active members; Strathcona's eighteen. Aside from distributing over 200,000 pages of temperance literature to lumber and mining camps and another 1,500

or so to the C.P.R. railroad station and the Strathcona immigration hall, the local W.C.T.U. chapters made little impact. The Strathcona union managed to get 400 south side Sunday School children to take a pledge of total abstinence from liquor and to petition Town Council in opposition to the menace of slot machines, but otherwise both unions were more engaged in community services like hospital work and financial assistance to the Y.M.C.A. building fund. Nor did the sporadic meetings of the Edmonton Branch of the Lord's Day Alliance spark noticeable enthusiasm.³⁵

Clearly the temperance work of the W.C.T.U. was taking a temporary back seat to the boom-stimulated organization of the Y.M.C.A., a different kind of community service. There had been a shift in interdenominational energies, one in which prominent laymen of various congregations were far more vitally involved than they had ever been in prohibitionist crusades. It is against the background of the Y.M.C.A. that the January ecumenical week of prayer and pulpit exchange among Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist clergymen, or the June announcement of Alberta Methodist Conference willingness to consider denominational church union in Canada must be understood. The city's development forced attention to the possibility, it seems, not the clergymen. Thus, a Bulletin editorial approving the Methodist position made just two intriguing points: first, that unique western friendliness among denominations on a practical basis favoured such a move; second, that the "primal purpose" would be "that society should receive the moral uplift which is the real purpose and mission of all churches

[italics added]." No theological argument here, nor any concern for individual salvation. Those debates were evidently left to the city's Ministerial Association formed early in the year.³⁶

Footnotes

1. Edmonton Bulletin (EB), November 7, 12, 1906. Reports on the meetings of other organizations appeared regularly in the city's newspapers.
2. EB, January 2, February 10, March 26, June 18, August 6, 1906.
3. Edmonton Journal (EJ), January 6, 1906; EB, January 11, August 25, 1906. A systematic search through daily newspaper reports on Masonic orders, IOOF, Knights of Pythias, Loyal Orange Order, Knights and Ladies of the Maccabees, Independent, Ancient and Canadian Orders of Foresters, Woodmen of the World, American Order of Eagles, Canadian Order of Chosen Friends and the Elks, among others less noticeable, supports these generalizations.
4. EB, February 5, March 24, 30, April 21, September 13, 1906.
5. EB, March 30, April 14, 18, June 30, September 13, November 5, 1906.
6. EB, January 9, 17, 18, April 23, 25, 1906.
7. Blake McKelvey, "Cities as Nurseries of Self-Conscious Minorities," Pacific Historical Review, vol. 39 (1970), 367-381.
8. EB, January 26, February 6, March 14, 16, 1906.
9. EB, January 25, 27, March 6, April 4, 7, 20, June 22, December 8, 11, 15, 21, 29, 1906; EJ, January 27, 1906.
10. EB, April 9, 1906.
11. EB, February 1, November 6, 1906; The Edmonton Club, Act of Incorporation, Constitution, Regulations and List of Members (Edmonton, Keystone Press, 1913), 3-15, 32.
12. EB, February 2, 21, March 8, 21, June 4, 5, 25, July 6, September 8, 1906.
13. EJ, January 11, 1906; EB, February 3, 12, 21, March 8, 13, 23, November 17, 19, December 18, 1906.

14. EB, March 14, 17, April 6, 7, 1906.

15. EB, January 13, March 14, 17, 22, April 6, 7, June 26, 27, October 6, 1906.

16. EB, January 16, 18, February 5, April 9, June 15, 18, September 8, November 20, December 5, 1906.

17. EJ, January 6, 1906; EB, January 11, 13, 24, 27, March 7-9, 13, 20, 22, 27, June 12, 26, September 8, November 19, 24, 30, December 3, 1906.

18. EJ, January 8, 11, 1906; EB, April 30, May 1, June 19, 21-25, 29, 30, July 3, 1906.

19. EB, June 21-27, November 7, 1906.

20. EJ, January 6, 1906; EB, January 5, 11, 22-24, February 5, April 23, 25, May 9, June 28, 30, July 3, October 6, November 19, 1906.

21. Frank A. Peake, "The Beginnings of the Diocese of Edmonton, 1875-1913" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1952), 61-62.

22. EB, January 2, 15, 29, February 26, March 7, 14, 26, 28, August 25, October 11, November 19, December 21, 1906. The Edmonton Council of the Knights of Columbus was just in the process of organization from August to November, 1906: see R. A. MacLean, "The History of the Roman Catholic Church in Edmonton" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1958), 137. Other church club notes festoon local news columns of the Bulletin and Journal for 1906. George N. Emery has analysed the new style for Canadian Methodists, and sees the change from early nineteenth century camp meeting evangelism to turn-of-the-century emphasis on education and "nurturing" institutions like the various internal clubs as manifestations of new urban middle class respectability more concerned with membership growth than mission. See his "Methodism on the Canadian Prairies, 1896-1914" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1970), 46-85.

23. EJ, January 8, 19, 1906; EB, January 2, 22, 30, 31, February 17, 27, March 5, 12, 13, 26, June 27, July 13, November 12, 13, 19, 1906.

24. EB, February 10, 23, March 15, June 18, 20, 30, November 5, 13, 19, 27, December 26, 31, 1906.

25. EB, March 26, 1906; and see lists of services in EB and EJ any Saturday, for example, EB, November 17, 1906; MacLean, "The History," 41-46; Emile J. Legal, comp., Short Sketches of the History of the Catholic Churches and Missions in Central Alberta (1914), 30-37; J. J. H. Morris, "The Presbyterian Church in Edmonton, Northern Alberta and the Klondike 1881-1925" (Unpublished

M.Th. Thesis, Vancouver School of Theology, 1974), 39-40; The Knox Story 1907/1967: A History...Dating Back to 1891 (Pamphlet - Knox United Church, Edmonton, 1967), 21-23; 1871-1931 Diamond Jubilee of McDougall United Church (Pamphlet - McDougall United Church, Edmonton, 1931), 12; Peake, "The Beginnings", 60-62, 73-76.

26. C. C. McLaurin, Pioneering in Western Canada: A Story of the Baptists (Calgary, The Author, 1939), 138, 343-4. St. John's Lutheran Church, east end Kinistino and Picard, advertised German and English services each Sunday: EB, November 10, 1906. A church building was constructed in spring, 1906: EB, February 6, April 23, 1906.

27. Legal, Short Sketches, 121-6.

28. EB, January 18, 22, 27, April 23, May 1, June 12, 16, November 10, 27, 1906; EJ, January 27, 1906.

29. J. H. Riddell, Methodism in the Middle West (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1946), 271-275; Emery, "Methodism," 15-16, 347.

30. EB, January 2, 16, February 9, 27, June 13, 19, 30, November 12, 24, 1906.

31. This paragraph and the next are developed from a typescript manuscript written from Y.M.C.A. minutes, "The History of the Edmonton Young Men's Christian Association," 1-8: Edmonton Y.M.C.A. Papers, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton; EB, January 8, 13, March 12, April 16, 27, 30, June 16, 22, August 27, November 12, 27, 1906.

32. EB, January 3, June 13, 16, 20, 21, 28, July 7, 1906.

33. Strathcona Council Minutes, February 6, 1906, at p. 361: Edmonton City Archives; EJ, June 18, 1906; EB, January 10, 17, 24, February 14, June 30, July 3-6, December 3, 15, 1906.

34. EJ, January 6, 1906; EB, January 3, February 22, March 22, June 13, 16, 18, 20, November 30, 1906; Morris, "The Presbyterian Church," 130-131.

35. Local Edmonton and Strathcona union reports to the Alberta W.C.T.U. convention, October 1906: W.C.T.U. Papers, Box 6, File 34, Glenbow-Alberta Institute Archives, Calgary; EB, January 9, 22, 25, April 23, 1906.

36. EB, January 2, 22-25, February 6, April 23, June 20, 1906. Evidently a "mass meeting of Methodists and Presbyterians in Edmonton" had endorsed church union already once before, in 1904, despite the local eminence of the "pronounced Presbyterian chauvinist," Rev. D. G. McQueen, later destined to lead dissenting Presbyterians out of church union in 1925: Emery, "Methodism," 331-337.

Chapter 12: Recreation and Entertainment.

Edmontonians were entertained, if not en masse, at least in substantial masses already in 1906, and to a startling extent they were passive spectators. Without denying the continuation of private recreational activity, it is obvious that the organized variety boomed. The key factor in recreation seems to be some degree of fantasy, some pleasant escape from the realities of earning a livelihood and managing family and other social relationships. Associated with that basic requirement might be exercise, display (as in theatre and costumes), artificial competition (card games, costume balls or sports contests), and social intercourse. Eliminate the exercise, and what is left is necessarily a display allowing only vicarious participation and pleasure for the spectators. On the other hand, far larger numbers of people could be accommodated simultaneously by display entertainment: this variety was well into its initial development in Edmonton in 1906.

Other varieties were of course not excluded, only their proportion of the available recreation was on the decline. Both fancy dress costume skating carnivals and dances gave participants opportunity simultaneously to exercise, socialize and provide a spectacle. Skating carnivals which would attract from 200 to 1,000 costumed skaters were bi-weekly occurrences giving colour to the open skating privileges available all winter long not only at the Thistle and Strathcona rinks, but also at a number of open air rinks. The various halls on both sides of the river were occupied even more frequently for dances sponsored either by specific organizations like the

hockey clubs or the German Club Edelweiss, or by the "Bachelors" and "Bachelor Maids". Some, like the Hospital Ball, raised money for charity, but most were pure recreation for the hundreds who attended, with the inevitable by-product of strengthening communal harmony.¹

Picnics could have been even more useful in this respect, as would be proven in later years, for the crowds could be greater and the occasions if less frequent then more special, but the "monster picnic" was a community technique used in 1906 only by the ladies of Strathcona to raise money for their fledgling hospital. Otherwise picnics were reserved for smaller groups like Edmonton's Danish community and various church groups.² Huge gatherings for entertainment did, however, take place on occasional special holidays. One of the most fitting in this year of railway bonanza took place on Victoria Day, May 24. More than 1,200 Edmontonians and Strathconans bought train tickets to Fort Saskatchewan, there to watch sporting events and to dance, all made possible by the new C.N.R. line. Dominion Day, a national event, was submerged in the attractions of the Edmonton fair, a local extravaganza running four days at the beginning of July. It is likely that businessmen saw the fair's value principally in financial terms. Exhibition Association directors eagerly anticipated 20,000 attendance to be drawn in part by special trains put on rail lines to a hundred mile radius. There were, however, other aspects to it. A Bulletin editorial hoped for a successful fair as an advertisement of collective civic and agrarian vitality, and the shopkeepers themselves interrupted their burst-

ing business opportunities for a day at the height of the fair in order to attend. It served as a focus, a symbol of collective effort and, especially, success. On the first day 3,300 paid to attend, while uncounted school children, the Boys' Brigades and military personnel entered free. Agricultural exhibits, particularly of livestock, and horse racing drew most of the visitors' attention.³

The herd characteristic taking over Edmonton entertainment was even more evident in regular week to week offerings in Edmonton's halls, theatres, rinks and playing fields. Very little of the fantasy which Edmontonians paid to take in was provided from within their own ranks, even that early. The few musical variety concerts and fewer amateur theatrical presentations offered by local talent were almost unnoticeable amidst the professionals touring through the city. The Thistle Rink - an arena fitted for theatre, Robertson's Hall before fire consumed it, Ross Hall on the south side, the Empire Theatre built in June and the Edmonton Opera House after its October opening, all carried entertainment of decided mediocrity which was rewarded with generally full sized crowds.

There were some exceptions which proved the rule. The serious French Canadian prima donna referred to consistently as "Madame Albani" carried such a reputation and was given such a promotional build-up that the capacity audiences may have come more for the spectacle of celebrity than for her singing. After all, she was during her stay in May a guest at Government House, and her performances drew the attendance of all the leading public citizens. A slightly different example was

the touring Harold Nelson Stock Company which mixed popular and lavishly produced light theatre like The Virginian, David Garrick's Love and The Prisoner of Zenda with Shakespeare's The Merchant of Venice. Nevertheless, the company's leading man, Harold Nelson, who was invariably its main attraction to the crowds which attended, soon complained that the popularity of Shakespearian drama had almost disappeared in the face of the demand for visual spectacles associated with the less sophisticated plays.⁴

The rest of Edmonton's theatrical fare made little pretense at cultural elevation. Stock companies showing off melodramas like The Convict's Daughter, A Foxy Tramp, Rip Van Winkle and The Irish Boarder were merely "merry makers", and musical productions were mainly proven American hit comedies. One company, the Roscian Opera Company, did supplement recognized operettas including Gilbert and Sullivan numbers with the operas Martha and Cavalleria Rusticana. Nevertheless, the greatest plaudits seemed reserved for the Juvenile Bostonians who produced "the 'excruciatingly funny cannibalistic' musical comedy 'Gee Whiz';" or Pollard's Lilliputian Opera Company whose repertoire included A Runaway Gal, The Gaiety Girl and The Lady Slavey. How does one explain the week long success of an offering by the Zinn Travesty Company called Teezy Weezy? Some of the specialty groups must have seemed incongruous in this northern setting with minstrel shows featuring "the latest coon ditties" or "the Zulu travesty, 'A Dream of Dahomey'," or endless variations of Uncle Tom's Cabin.⁵ Some of these groups verged on vaudeville variety shows, supplementing their major

features with the contortions of jugglers, unicyclists and Siberian bloodhounds.

One pure vaudeville troupe, announced the Bulletin with relish, presented "no pathos or seriousness anywhere to interrupt the stream of mirth" and did "not aspire to ethics or classics, [taught] no moral lesson, and [did] not attempt to be instructive." Exactly. Edmonton was solidly and happily plugged in to the homogeneous North American phenomenon of travelling fantasy entertainment. The first, though temporarily unsuccessful attempt at opening a theatre (the Empire) for four daily performances of "refined vaudeville" in June was a sign of things to come. The Edmonton Opera House was built in the fall for a steady diet of variety theatre, supplemented in afternoons by roller skating. A prairie Managers' Association was being promoted from Calgary to coordinate prairie bookings for North American touring companies, to create a Canadian prairie "circuit" so to speak.⁶ The enlivening of hundreds of urban lives nightly had become another business specialty, a service performed for an urban population rather than by themselves, and standard marketing procedure to satisfy the broadest taste promised little fundamental variety or quality. The new urban entertainment was in its standardization of fantasy both a communal force and a communal sign.

Sports entertainment was following a similar pattern, but with the added dimension of competition. Even "friendly games", as they were called, of hockey between plumbers and pharmacists, Bulletin and Journal newsboys, C.N.R. and C.P.R. employees, doctors and lawyers, the residents of different

hotels, and the employees of several major stores, all reflected aspects of urban organization. At the same time, competition engendered a separate sort of organization. Only golf and tennis tournaments appear to have been entirely local.⁷ Sports clubs proliferated in the city, launched at first simply to regulate local competition in hockey (men's and women's), cricket, curling, football, lacrosse, baseball, rifle marksmanship and tennis. The ultimate coordination of the affairs of all the athletic clubs in an association patterned after the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association was pursued, though not yet accomplished. Its first purpose would have been promotion of all sports, in order to acquire tangible public support in such forms as adequate grounds. If it was limited in the matter of intra-urban coordination, however, organization of most sports had already transcended local competitions to support civic representative teams carrying the colours of Edmonton or Strathcona into inter-urban contests.

The Edmonton Curling Club bonspiel late in January drew more outsiders than members of the Edmonton and Strathcona curling clubs. The Edmonton and Strathcona Rifle Associations, whose members normally occupied themselves with an endless regular succession of shooting practices, combined in June and July to place well in the eighty team Canadian Military Rifle matches. The Edmonton Cricket Club had perhaps proceeded the least distance to external competition in team sports, yet games between teams of married and bachelor members on Good Friday and Arbor Day were matched by games with Wetaskiwin, Fort Saskatchewan and Red Deer teams, while Edmonton organizers

tried to establish a North-West Cricket League for Alberta and Saskatchewan. Both Edmonton and Strathcona as well as Alberta College had lacrosse and football clubs with teams playing at the intermediate and senior levels, and a crack Strathcona lacrosse team which consistently overpowered its Edmonton competition was judged worthy to send on a B.C. tour promoting Strathcona. The Edmonton Football Club organized for the season in March, installing the manager of the baseball team as its president. Its major rival was its Strathcona counterpart, but both clubs planned to play "along the line as far as Lloydminster," playing teams from Mannville and Morinville and at least as far to the east as Vegreville.⁸ But of the team sports, hockey and baseball organization illustrated the trend best.

Hockey organization was not much more sophisticated than that for football or lacrosse, but the range of external challenge exhibition games was greater. For consistent local performance, representatives of high school, Alberta College, Printers' and the Edmonton Thistle and Strathcona Shamrock intermediate teams organized a city hockey league. Senior Thistle and Shamrock teams for the most part played each other before capacity crowds of about 2,000 spectators. The Thistles fittingly in this year regularly thrashed their counterparts for a trophy known as the Peterson Cup. At Christmas and New Year new C.N.R. excursions transported the teams and crushing loads of onlookers across the river to give an additional excitement to the entertainment. A Rossland, B.C. team visited to play several games; the obverse of this was a Thistle tour through Calgary, Medicine Hat, Regina, Moose Jaw, Portage la

Prairie, Brandon and Winnipeg. Although regular league play was not thought viable, frequent games before good crowds established hockey as a major recreational spectacle in early Edmonton. Games against outside teams received extensive front page newspaper coverage, stressing the identification of Edmonton readers with their representative team, even as players began to be imported from as far afield as Quebec.⁹

Baseball was the most vigorously promoted and business-like spectator sport, drawing 1,200 and more to "witness the tragedy" of one loss after another to the major Calgary rival. In a tournament which took place during the Edmonton fair, the potential for the game in Edmonton was demonstrated by the attendance of 1,500 at a final game in which the Edmonton team did not play. A game against a team from Anacortes, Washington drew a similar crowd. During the spring campaign to form and fund an athletic association to promote and secure facilities for summer sports, the Bulletin remarked, "If there is anything that brings into prominence a town or city it is a victorious lacrosse, baseball or football team." As soon as it thus became a matter of finding the best to represent the city, it became necessary to transform the organization into a professional and commercial one. Shareholders were quickly found for an athletic company which was first and foremost a baseball club (Hon. C. W. Cross honorary president). American players were imported. Bleachers were installed, grounds improved and tickets sold at the baseball diamond. Bitter complaints were registered when paid players committed multitudes of errors. New players were brought in to replace them. After

the 1906 meeting Edmonton promoters journeyed to other centres to draw them into a Western Canada league which applied for and received the sanction of the American coordinating board for professional baseball leagues.¹⁰

As for theatrical entertainment, but not quite at the same pace, the organization of Edmonton sports entertainment was becoming a specialized international service for passive consumers on a mass scale. Challenge matches mixing local and touring participants in boxing and wrestling exerted a similar appeal, presumably with the added attraction of laying bets on the outcome. The ultimate gambling sport, horse racing, was the most popular feature of the Edmonton fair, at which 104 stalls accommodated 200 horses from all over North America. In the fall, Edmonton's first "Driving Club" prepared to campaign for funds to build a sophisticated racing speedway.¹¹

Sports contests and theatrical entertainment displayed the crowd formation of Edmonton behaviour as nothing else could. Here was not independent, let alone unique, initiative: here was transplantation of urban forms into a new setting, the reproduction of an organism.

To put it another way, there was no doubt that Edmonton was a city, as its promoters so devoutly wished to ensure. Its lack of distinction from other cities, the collective behaviour of its humanity, its commitment to community, all betrayed its urbanity. The individuals and the groups within the city who organized themselves to provide certain collective services simultaneously committed themselves to the form of total urban community which would permit only limited modification.

Independent behaviour had been sacrificed in many fields; in taking the collective approach citizens made the city the unit governing much of their individual conduct: not only in their work, but also in their accommodation with all its utilities, in provision of health care and education, even in their voluntary associations and in their entertainment. Between citizen and city, which now served which?

Footnotes

1. Edmonton Journal (EJ), January 6, 12, July 2, 1906; Edmonton Bulletin (EB), January 6, 15, 18, February 1, 9, 10, 16, 19, March 8, 10, 30, April 18, 23-25, May 3, June 22, November 6, 19, 27, 30, December 6, 7, 31, 1906.
2. EB, July 21, 30, August 30, 1906.
3. EB, May 25, June 30-July 6, 1906.
4. James Sheremeta, "A Survey of Professional Entertainment and Theatre in Edmonton, Alberta Before 1914" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1970), 80-82, 97-103; EB, May 9, October 8-13, December 26, 1906; EJ, May 9, 1906.
5. Sheremeta, "A Survey of Professional Entertainment," 70-74, 86-88, 112, 142-143; EB, April 2-9, June 19-28, July 21, 27, August 11, 24, October 8-13, November 5, 10, 15, 30, December 31, 1906.
6. EB, June 21, 26, November 6, 9, 12, 13, 1906; John Orrell, "Edmonton Theatres of Alexander W. Cameron," Alberta History, vol. 26, no. 2 (Spring, 1978), 1-4.
7. EJ, January 28, 1906; EB, January 12, 15, 20, 25, February 12, 15, 16, 27, March 14, April 17, 18, July 3, September 22, December 21, 24, 27, 1906.
8. EB, January 2, 22, March 9, 13, 27, 31, April 2, 4, 5, 10, 25, May 5, 10, 12, 25, June 12, 27-29, July 3, 13, August 20, 25, 27, September 1, 4, 5, October 11, 19, 1906.
9. EJ, January 2, 1906; EB, January 2, 3, 19, 30-February 2, 7, 14-17, 27, March 5-9, 13, 14, 24, November 5, 7, 13, 15, 20, December 26, 27, 1906.

10. EB, April 6, 9, 20, 23, May 24, June 13, 16, 26-29, July 5-7, August 4, 27, September 1, 8, 11, 12, October 11, November 5, 27, December 15, 26, 1906.

11. EB, June 26-July 6, August 24-27, September 1, 4, 25, October 2, 19, 1906.

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